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The effect of discrimination on the integration of black professionals into the white American life insurance industry.

James R. Tyler

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The Effect Of Discrimination On the Integration of Black
Professionals Into the White American Life Insurance
Industry

A DISSERTATION

BY

JAMES R. TYLER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1984

Education

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The Effect of Discrimination on The Integration of Black
Professionals Into The White American Life Insurance
Industry

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED

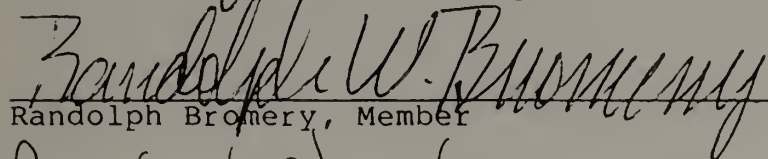
BY

JAMES R. TYLER

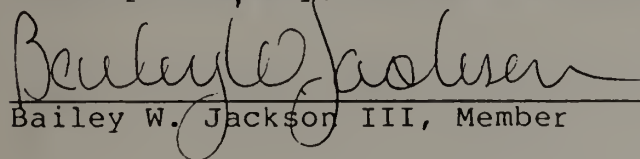
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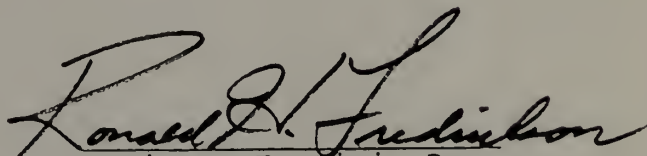
Norma Jean Anderson, Chairperson of Committee



Randolph Bromery, Member



Bailey W. Jackson III, Member



Mario D. Fantini, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

To five beautiful Black women who at some point in my life provided me with the strength and nourishment to overcome the barriers that I have encountered in this fundamentally racist society. In their own way they have demanded the best of me and have understood when I have failed, they are:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|--|
| Alice Rodgers | - | My grandmother, who instilled in me a belief in God and the ability to distinguish between good and evil and to accept the consequences of my choice. |
| Bettie M. Tyler | - | My mother, who in a unique way was very protective, but allowed me to pursue my choice in an independent manner. She was the voice in the night that made me explore my conscious. |
| Rosetta E. Tyler | - | My ex-wife, who bore me four beautiful, intelligent and independent children, stood by them for twenty four years, then decided she wanted to pursue a life of her own. I admire her for her ability to make this choice and pursue it with vigor. |
| Terry F. Bydume | - | My daughter, the epitome of what Andy Young described as "the modern Black woman, one of the most beautiful species of the human race". She has maintained the traditional role of the Black woman and emerged a "star in her own right". |

Kim L. Jackson

- My fiancée, the woman whom I describe as one of the fiercest competitors that I have ever met. Yet she has provided me a great deal of passion, support and a renewed sense of self worth. She is beautiful, brilliant and fantastic. Our future is one that was made in heaven.

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I would like to thank the men and women who shared their experiences and gave their time making this study possible.

I would also like to thank Mary Jones for the enormous amount of time and energy she spent in typing this dissertation.

I am also grateful to all of the professors in the school of education whom I have had the privilege to study under. You are all beautiful and extremely competent.

I would like to thank Kim Jackson for proofreading, editing and providing moral support. Thanks to Patricia S. Warren, my manager, who stood by me and in her own way provided a great deal of moral support and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

The Effect of Discrimination on The Integration Of Black Professionals Into The White American Life Insurance Industry

James R. Tyler, Ed.D

University of Massachusetts, 1983

Directed By: Dr. Norma Jean Anderson

The white American life insurance industry by nature is an ultraconservative industry that is slow to react to change. Blacks and women, as well as other minorities have been directly affected by this ultraconservative industry in their attempts to purchase insurance and to be employed in senior level jobs. This study focuses on the effects of discrimination on Blacks and whites when Black professionals were integrated into the white American life insurance industry.

There is a general notion that racism and discrimination has prevented Blacks from rising to positions of authority and influence in the industry. In an attempt to test this notion, the author conducted an extensive historical search to determine the origin and extent of the alleged discrimination. The search in part revealed that (1) Blacks

were prevented from purchasing or were charged higher rates for life and health insurance since the early 1800's, (2) Black males were only hired into menial jobs such as elevator operators, janitors, watchmen or supply clerks until the late 1950's or early 1960's. The one exception was hired into the personnel department of Metropolitan Life with the responsibility of hiring "colored girls" into clerical positions in the late 1940's. (3) There are currently only two Black senior vice presidents on the staffs of the top ten life insurance companies. (4) Blacks are still concentrated in the entry level management and clerical positions in the white American life insurance industry.

Questionnaires were sent to Black and white employees of six major white life insurance companies to determine the effect of historical discrimination on the integration of Blacks into the industry. In addition, personal interviews were held with a number of employees in these same companies. The interviews, questionnaires, and historical research provided some responses to the following questions: (1) What is the history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry? (2) What are the views of Blacks and whites relative to historical discrimination and

affirmative action in the white American life insurance industry? (3) Do the views of Blacks and whites contrast? (4) What do statistics reveal relative to the utilization of Blacks in professional, managerial, and sales positions in the white American life insurance industry?

The results of the study indicate: (1) Blacks have and continue to be discriminated against in their efforts to move into senior level positions in the white American life insurance industry. (2) The views of Blacks and whites differ as to the reasons why Blacks are not in positions of authority and the effect of affirmative action programs on the employment of Blacks in the industry. (3) Statistics support the fact that discrimination has historically prevented and continues to prevent Blacks from moving into positions of authority and influence in the industry.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Blacks have experienced considerable difficulty in attaining senior line management positions in the white American life insurance industry. Although federal and state equal opportunity compliance agencies have made valiant attempts to remedy the problem, there are many civil rights activists and Blacks within the industry who feel that success has been miniscule. They point to the fact that the first white life insurance company was started in this country in 1759, and in 1983, some 224 years later, there are only two Blacks serving as senior vice presidents in the industry's workforce. They attribute this appalling situation to historical and continuing discrimination.

Problem.

The white American life insurance industry has a history of discriminating against Blacks in their recruiting, hiring, selection, and promotion practices. Those Blacks who have been hired into the industry have had little success reaching positions of authority and influence.

Background.

The War of 1812, which lasted two years, hindered the growth of the United States economy. Commerce was severely restricted by the British Blockade. Sectional conflicts over the desirability of the war further aggravated the situation. With the family-farm economy still dominant, there was little need for life insurance.

However, signs of change were appearing. The factory system was growing, particularly in the New England states which had a favorable supply of water power. Employment in textile mills and in light manufacturing plants began to attract workers and their families. Many of these workers had migrated from the farm to the town. This movement and the breaking up of the extended family unit meant that the workers had to look for a new source of economic security. Increased business activity created a need for larger financial institutions to serve both business and workers. By 1830 the number of life companies had grown to nine.

The insurance industry currently has grown to approximately 1900 life insurance companies with assets in excess of \$400 billion and total business of almost four trillion dollars. The industry differs from other industries in that all of its growth has been predicated on "Risk Management". Risk involves uncertainty, the major function of the insurance industry has been to replace uncertainty

with certainty in one's personal and business financial activities.

The white American life insurance industry made its greatest gains in the Northeast, the region that gave birth to "Jim Crow". Jim Crow is a system of peonage laws implemented against Blacks when slavery was abolished. Today many of the major life insurance companies' headquarters are in the Northeast and their senior staffs' racial composition still reflect the influence that "Jim Crow" has had on the promotion of Blacks into the levels of senior vice presidents and above.

If the employment practices of a number of these companies are explored, it may be possible to understand the effect of discrimination on the process.

Purpose.

The purpose of this study will be to determine the effect of discrimination on Blacks and whites when Black professionals are integrated into white life insurance companies.

Significance.

The white American life insurance industry was committed to plans for progress and equal employment opportunity in the early 1960's. Despite the tremendous amounts of dollars

and human capital committed to this effort Blacks still face many barriers in their attempt to enter and perform in the "Executive Suite" level.

Many chief executive officers are frustrated by their company's lack of progress and are searching for possible solutions to their problems. By examining the employment practices and the role discrimination has played, new approaches to solving the problem may be revealed.

The following section defines the terms used in this study to assist the reader in understanding the approach used by the author.

Definition of Terms.

Affected Class: One or more employees, former employees or applicants who have been denied employment opportunities or benefits because of discriminatory practices and/or policies by the contractor.¹

Affirmative Action: Those results-oriented actions which a contractor by virtue of its contracts must take to insure equal employment opportunity.²

Affirmative Action Program: A written results oriented program in which a contractor details the steps it will take to ensure equal employment opportunity, including where appropriate remedying discrimination against an affected class.³

¹U.S. Department of Labor, Federal Contract Compliance Manual (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978). P. 1-6

²IBID P. 1-6

³IBID P. 1-6

Business Necessity: Justification for an otherwise prohibited employment practice based on a contractor's proof that (1) the otherwise prohibited employment practice is essential for the safety and efficiency of the business, and (2) no reasonable alternative with a lesser impact exists.⁴

Continuing Discrimination: Where individuals or groups suffer the current effects of past discrimination.

Discrimination: (a) Illegal treatment of a person or group (either intentional or unintentional) based on race, age, color, national origin, religion, sex, handicap or veteran status. The term also includes the failure to remedy the effects of past discrimination. (b) The active component of intergroup prejudice. While stereotyped beliefs and prejudiced attitudes are cognitive, discrimination requires an active conative means of expressing the outgroup hostility and rejection. (Pettigrew 1977)

Ethnocentrism: An organized system of items, or ideology characterized by rigid ingroup and outgroup distinctions, stereotyped and hostile attitudes of outgroups generally stereotyped and submissive attitudes of ingroups and a hierarchical authoritarian view of group interaction. (Pettigrew, 1977)

EEO-1 Report: The Equal Employment Opportunity Employment Information Report, an annual report filed with the joint reporting committee by employers subject to the Executive Order or to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended. This report details the race, ethnic, and sex composition of an employer's workforce by job category.⁵

Job Categories: The nine designated categories of the EEO-1 Report - Officials and Managers, Professionals, Technicians, Sales Workers, Office and Clerical, Craft Workers (Skilled), Operatives (Semi-Skilled), Laborers (Unskilled) and Service Workers.⁶

⁴IBID P. 1-8

⁵IBID, P. 1-10;

⁶ IBID, P. 1-13

Insurance: Legally insurance is a contract whereby the insurance company agrees to make payments to a party, should the event insured against in the contract happen. Socially, insurance enables individuals to obtain insurance at a reasonable cost and protect himself/herself from possible disastrous losses.

Marginality: The assimilation of a person into a culture other than the one in which they were originally socialized requires considerable time and might not be completed within an individual's lifetime. Because the person has been partially socialized by each of two cultures, he or she does not fit well into either culture.⁷

Minorities: All persons classified as Black (not of Hispanic Origin), Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or Alaskan Native.⁸

Prejudice: An effective, categorical mode of mental functioning involving rigid prejudgment and misjudgment of human groups. (Pettigrew 1977)

Protected Groups: Include minorities, women, handicapped individuals, disabled and Viet Nam Era Veterans, persons between the ages of 40-70 years old and Catholics, Jews and some Eastern European religious groups.

Racism: A notion that one's own race is superior and the process of acting out this notion against human beings and justifying it by attributing to them deviant traits. Associated with this is a position of power and authority over the victims of racism.

Systemic Discrimination: Which means that the denial of equal opportunity is the inevitable consequence of some business practices and does not involve or require any

⁷Cuber, John F., "Sociology A Synopsis of Principles, 4th Edition Appleton Century Craft Inc., New York (1909) 626-627

⁸U.S. Department of Labor Federal Contract Compliance Manual (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office) 1978, P. 1-14

specific action against the individual victim of discrimination.⁹

One on One Discrimination: One on one discrimination is a result of a specific act directed at a specific person based upon his or her race, religion, sex, or national origin. There are four theories of discrimination developed by federal compliance agencies.¹⁰

Intentional Discrimination: This occurs when an employer is consciously influenced by race, color, national origin, religion or sex when making an employment decision. This is usually displayed in the form of overt bias or prejudice on the part of a supervisor or management.¹¹

Status-Related Discrimination: This occurs when an employer denies employment opportunity to a protected class because of characteristics, beliefs or work performance related to race, religion, national origin, or sex. Normally displayed in specific policies that prohibit activities related to class member status.¹²

Impact Discrimination: This occurs when an employer maintains a policy that has a significantly disproportionate adverse impact upon the employment opportunities of a class.¹³

Objectives of The Study.

The author expects to provide answers to the following questions:

- . What is the history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry?
- . What are the views of Blacks and whites relative to discrimination and affirmative action in the American white life insurance industry?
- . How do their views contrast?
- . What do statistics show relative to the utilization of Blacks in professional, managerial and sales positions in the white American life insurance industry.

⁹U.S. Department of Labor Federal Contract Compliance Manual (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office)

¹⁰IBID. ¹¹IBID. ¹²IBID. ¹³IBID.

Limitations Of This Study.

The evaluative parts of this study should be seen as a pilot study. This means that the results and findings of this study should remain open to further exploration and research.

The validity and reliability of the pilot evaluation instrument cannot be scrutinized as closely as those studies which use more highly developed and sophisticated research instruments. It is hoped, however, that the study can be used as a basis for further inquiry into measuring the effects of discrimination on the integration of Black professionals into the white American life insurance industry.

Chapter two provides the reader with a better understanding of;

- . The laws and how they have been used to hinder and help the employment of Blacks.
- . The personality traits of the victims and perpetrators of discrimination.
- . The frustrations of Blacks and whites that are a direct result of discrimination.
- . The seven racist types that range from the Klu Klux Klan to non-racist.

- . The experiences of Blacks in the workplace versus their expectations and the Black employment gap.
- . The effect of discrimination on the Pension, Health and Life insurance industry.

This information serves as a basis of understanding of the intricacies of diagnosing discrimination.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

In this section, the literature relevant to this study will be summarized and critiqued. In order to put this review into perspective and provide a clearer understanding, the following assumptions are made:

- . The population in the study is typical of the population in the white American life insurance industry.
- . Blacks have been prevented from attaining senior management positions because the position of superior and inferior is still maintained when there is interaction between the races, with the superior position always being assigned to whites.

In order to analyze the effects of integrating Blacks into the white American life insurance industry, the author felt that the best approach was to review the literature in the following sequence.

- . First, the laws are reviewed from a historical perspective to provide the reader with a better understanding of the guidelines and regulations governing equal employment opportunity and affirmative action as they pertain to the employment of Blacks and other protected groups within the American labor force.
- . Secondly, several empirical studies are reviewed to provide the reader with views of experts within the field regarding the effects of affirmative action and whether discrimination is the major contributing factor in the economic gap between whites and Blacks.

- . The discussion of top management's veiws gives the reader an understanding of what occurs when senior management takes affirmative steps to prevent discrimination.
- . Next, the author engaged in a discussion of the personality traits of the victims of discrimination as well as those of prejudiced individuals to enable the reader to better understand/interpret the responses to the questionnaires and personal interviews in the study.
- . Finally, there is a discussion of recent congressional hearings regarding whether there is discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry.

The author focused on Blacks because the American form of slavery is without comparable historical parallel in the exploitation of labor. This does not exclude other minorities but makes it easier for the reader to understand how they have been exploited.

The Laws.

Racial discrimination in employment is one of the most deplorable forms of discrimination known to our society, for it deals not just with an individual's sharing in the outer benefits of being an American citizen, but rather the ability to provide decently for one's family in a job or profession for which he qualifies and chooses. (Tuttle Judge Elbert P. Culpepper Vs. Reynolds Metal Co. 421 F 201 888 at 891, 5th in 1970)

Blacks suffered a great deal more inhumane treatment when compared to other minorities. Moore wrote about this

treatment in an article published in the Black Scholar in January 1973, he stated:

"Black people did not immigrate to this country. Their entry was entirely involuntary, enslaved Africans were imported as articles of commerce and sold as common chattel to the highest bidder. In America their only recognized value was their potential for hard work--their labor. A labor shortage existed in colonial America and for almost a hundred and twenty years after independence.

Enslaved Africans supplied the much needed labor, but reaped no benefits or profits for themselves at all. Every aspect of the slave system operated to the disadvantage of Black people. It destroyed african cultures and african families. The Black woman was reduced to a breeder; her children were not hers to love and nurture as a mother, but the appreciated property of her owner and master. The Black man was just so many strong hands and backs to till the soil, clear the forests, build the houses and barns, and to enrich his owner and master a thousandfold. The Black man in his private relationship with his enslaved woman was, in the larger matrix of the slave system, neither a lover nor father--but a mere superstud. The Black man's earnings, outside the slave plantation, as an artisan, carpenter, mason or whatever endeavors, were not his, but the returns of his master's capital investments. The American system of chattel slavery is without comparable historic parallel in its thoroughgoing ruthless, inhuman and cruel exploitation of labor.

Consideration of the discrimination against other minorities on the grounds of national origin, religion, sex, or age sharpens the focus on the problem of racial or color discrimination in employment and aids in the delineation of its essential and unique aspects as well. Likewise, the discrimination to which other minorities have been and continue to be subjected to are themselves better understood against the background of discrimination against Blacks."

The first attempt at preventing the exploitation of Black labor was the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln. Great pressure had been brought to bear upon President Lincoln to free the slaves at the out-

break of the war between the states but he refused... During the early months of the war, Lincoln long held that he was fighting to save the union, not to free slaves. Many northerners would have opposed an abolitionist crusade...By the summer of 1862, with the war going badly for the north, the President was ready to reverse his stand...He waited for a union victory so that the decision would not look like an act of desperation...On September 22, 1862, a few days after Lee's defeat at Antietam, he issued a preliminary proclamation which stated that if the seceded states did not lay down their arms and return to the union by January 1, 1863, he would declare their slaves to be "Forever Free". (World Book Encyclopedia 1956) Total freedom did not come until the enactment of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866, 1870 and 1871.

Following the Civil War and passage of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution, Congress sought to specify its intent that the newly freed Blacks be accorded full and complete equality under law with white citizens of the United States. Through a series of Civil Rights Acts in 1866 and subsequent years, Congress established the principle of equal rights and equal protection for all citizens of the United States. Although the initial interpretation of these Acts construed them to

apply only to governmental discrimination, courts have since held that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 affords a remedy for racial discrimination by a private employer. Recently, the Supreme Court held that this Act proscribes discrimination because of race against whites as well as Blacks. (Connolly 1978)

This new found freedom was short lived because the agrarian economy of the south demanded inexpensive labor. Haywood Burns, National Director of the National Conference of Black lawyers spelled it out thusly:

"After emancipation and after appomattox, the white south, relying on its tried and tested tool, the law, tried insofar as was possible, to re-establish the superior position of whites. The notorious Black codes were designed to assure a working relationship between whites and Blacks that would not offend the racist sentiments of the white south, one that would closely approximate the freedman's position to slavery. State legislatures passed bills which made it virtually impossible for freedmen to go into commercial fields or to work as artisans. Detailed, expensive licensing requirements and the necessity of serving an apprenticeship with someone already in the trade made it virtually impossible for Blacks to establish themselves in various areas of skilled labor and commercial enterprise. Service on the land was guaranteed, however. Black codes set out in detail the obligations in the master-servant relationship, giving them enormous control over the comings and goings of their workers, down to the most intimate details of their lives. Black codes prohibited intermarriage, and permitted corporal punishment and convict labor. The latter was an especially useful legal device. Blacks could be arrested in numbers under exceedingly vague vagrancy and idleness statutes, and then farmed out to local landowners to work off their sentences of hard labor. Without the benefit of date it is often difficult to tell a post-Civil War Black code from a pre-Civil War Slave code."

Peonage became a way of life, but Blacks began to fight laws with laws as can be seen by the following:

- . In 1911, the Supreme Court held that a state law which made it a crime to fail to perform the terms of a labor contract after receiving an advance for services violated the thirteenth amendment and the federal anti-peonage statute. (Moore 1973)
- . Twenty-nine years later, in 1940, the Supreme Court was confronted with the peonage question again...struck down peonage statutes in Florida and Georgia (Moore 1973).
- . On June 25, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed a national political judgment that the old methods by which minorities climbed the economic ladder were either unavailable to Blacks, or inadequate, or both by promulgating Executive Order No. 8802. Executive Order 8802 affirmed a supposed national policy of the full utilization of manpower in the defense program and without discrimination or segregation on the grounds of race, creed, color or national origin. (Moore 1973)
- . Subsequently, on May 27, 1943, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9346, which amended Executive Order 8802 to establish a new committee on Fair Employment Practice. (Moore 1973)

- . President Truman, on December 20, 1945, issued Executive Order No. 9664, which continued the work of the Fair Employment Committee, created and established by previous executive orders. Executive Order No. 9664 expressly directed the committee to investigate, make findings and recommendations, and report to the President, with respect to discrimination in industries engaged in work contributing... to effective transition to a peacetime economy. (Moore 1973)

Despite the magnanimous effort by the Federal Government, discrimination continued to fester within American industry. In an attempt to combat this institutional/systemic discrimination, a series of sweeping laws were passed during the 1960's which affected equal employment opportunity and affirmative action.

The laws which will be discussed and interpreted by the author are:

- . The Equal Pay Act of 1963, as Amended
- . The Civil Rights Act of 1964, as Amended
- . Executive Order 11246, as Amended
- . The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, as Amended
- . The Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as Amended
- . The Viet Nam Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974
- . State Fair Employment Practice Laws

Equal Pay Act.

This act makes it unlawful to discriminate on the basis of sex for equal work on jobs which require equal skill, effort and responsibility under similar working conditions. There is a controversial concept that is now being promoted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission called "comparable worth" which states that a person should be paid "equal pay for work of equal value". This would force corporations to reevaluate their lower paying jobs where women and minorities are concentrated.

The National Science Foundation published a report commissioned by the EEOC in September of 1981 that explored the current practices of assessing the worth of jobs by industry.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VII makes it unlawful for all employers, labor unions and employment agencies with 15 or more employees to discriminate with respect to all terms and conditions of employment, or against any applicant for employment, because of race, sex, color, religion or national origin, except where there is a bonafide occupational qualification which is reasonably necessary to the conduct of a particular business.

The act was amended in 1972 to give the EEOC powers to act against employers who violated the law. This included

the authority to bring "pattern or practice" suits and to file suits on behalf of individuals. Many of the employment discrimination complaints are filed under Title VII.

Executive Order 11246.

This Executive Order prohibits discrimination by Federal Government contractors or subcontractors on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin. The contracts must be for \$50,000 or more and the contractor must employ 50 or more employees. The contractors and sub-contractors have an affirmative action plan which contains:

- . a workforce analysis for each job group, specifying whether minorities and women are being underutilized according to their availability. Where there is underutilization it must be explained.
- . a workforce analysis that identifies job progression.
- . goals and timetables to remedy the deficiencies identified.
- . a description of internal management responsibility for the program's administration.
- . the boiler plate items such as descriptions of policies and practices such as recruiting, selection, training, promotions and terminations.

This Executive Order has been quite instrumental in integrating women and minorities into corporations.

The Age Discrimination In Employment Act.

This act makes it unlawful to discriminate on the basis of age against employees or applicants for employment between the ages of 40-70. Age discrimination is the fastest growing area in anti-discrimination work according to Acting Chairman, J. Clay Smith, of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in a report to Congress in 1981.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

This act requires that any Contractor or Subcontractor with federal contracts or subcontracts in excess of \$2500 with the Federal Government must take affirmative action to employ and advance qualified handicapped individuals. A written affirmative action program must be developed when the contract is for \$50,000 or more and the contractor employs 50 or more employees.

The Viet Nam Era Veterans Readjustment Act of 1974.

This act requires any Contractor or Subcontractor with federal contracts or subcontracts in excess of \$10,000 to take affirmative action to employ and advance in employment qualified disabled veterans and veterans of the Viet Nam Era. A written affirmative action program must be developed when the contract is for more than \$50,000.

State Fair Employment Laws.

Forty-six states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico have their own statutes prohibiting discrimination in employment. Most of these states cover sex discrimination, as well as discrimination based on race, color, religion and national origin. In addition, 35 states have statutes prohibiting age discrimination.

Many civil rights activists and conservatives feel that Equal Employment Laws are not effective. Moore in 1973 stated:

"While modest gains made through efforts to achieve equal employment opportunity are appreciated, the equal opportunity approach nevertheless short-changes Blacks and other minorities, it binds them to tokenism and gradualism. The problems facing them call for a mass solution. The equal opportunity concept obscures the fact that for Blacks the pursuit of equal opportunity is in actuality an invitation to be subjected to more discrimination. Equality and racism are mutually exclusive, brutal negotiations of each other. The concept of equal opportunity cannot be transformed into meaningful social practice, until America becomes a non-racist society. Then it will not make any difference, the struggle will have been won."

This author takes a different view on the effects of the equal employment/affirmative action laws. The positions that Blacks hold in major corporations today, though not the most powerful, are a far cry from their positions in the economy during the slavery period. Racism has been institutionalized and equal opportunity/affirmative action is one means of eliminating it. Blacks cannot rely on the goodness of whites to make it disappear, for example;

The House Wednesday Group, a caucus of 31 "moderate-liberal" Republicans introduced a bill that would both eliminate the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and repeal the Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions enforcement role.

The bill will address the process that government agencies use to handle complaints because of duplication and the excessive cost involved under the present system. This bill, if approved, would:

- . restrict the EEOC's function to the administration of "fair employment in the federal workforce".
- . abolish the OFCCP and other federal civil rights enforcement agencies.
- . initially refer complaints against private employers to state and local fair employment agencies.
- . relegate all civil rights enforcement to the Justice Department.
- . eliminate goals and timetables "mandatory under affirmative action requirements of Executive Order 11246".
- . eliminate record filing of most federal forms, including the EEO-1, and EEO recordkeeping.
- . render affirmative action a "voluntary self policing system by private employers".

It has been 118 years since Lincoln "deceptively" announced the freeing of Blacks from slavery and without the constant onslaught of laws and regulations, Blacks would still be

functioning under a peonage system. It has also been 18 years since the federal government introduced the first equal employment opportunity laws. Ruth Schaeffer (1980) of the Conference Board (a Business and Industry Association) described the transition thusly:

"At the onset many large national corporations ignored these new federal laws and regulations. They were not sure how they might be enforced and, in any event, they expected the new requirements would have little impact on their personnel policies and practices. But, by the early 1970's, most major corporations were becoming aware of just how much change these new federal requirements mandated. And like most people faced with the need to make drastic changes in their way of doing things, many key executives resisted - or at least tried to slow - what they then perceived as a massive and extremely ill-advised intrusion of government into the private affairs of their companies. Some even expressed the hope that the laws would be repealed.

By contrast, in 1980 chief executives of many large corporations are commenting publicly and extensively on the important role that they and their organizations must play in equalizing the employment opportunities provided to Blacks, to Hispanics, and to various other minority groups as well as women."

Despite these public pronouncements, Blacks and whites must still gain a clearer understanding of the nature of the operations of racism and prejudice and constantly challenge it where it exists in order to bring about lasting change. Blacks and whites must bring to bear those things that stand in the way of operating in a truly pluralistic work environment. Something changed Abraham Lincoln from a stance he took in 1858 during the Lincoln Douglas debate:

"I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political

equality of white and Black races, that I am not nor ever been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the Black and white races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned the white race."¹⁴

Whatever it was that brought about this change, economics, political pressure, the war, liberal whites, colluding or militant Blacks, we must understand it and apply the pressure as needed. The author's experience has been that some people believe that laws preventing discrimination against Blacks in employment don't exist and others believe that the laws are a panacea. The laws were explored here to enhance their awareness and to enable them to see how the laws have been a benefit and a barrier.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the nature of racism and prejudice. In this and the following sections the author explores the traits of victims of and the personalities of prejudiced individuals. The author feels that this approach will enable the reader to better understand discrimination and why it occurs. A discussion on Allport's study on the roots of discrimination is followed by Pettigrew's work on personality dynamics. The next three sections explore the frustrations of Blacks and whites who are affected by discrimination.

¹⁴Blustein, Albert P. and Zangrando, Robert L., "Civil Rights and the Black American" Simon and Shuster, New York, New York (1970), 171-172

Ego Defense.

Allport (1954) in his classic study on the roots of discrimination, theorized that there were certain traits displayed by victims of discrimination that can be categorized as Ego Defenses.

Ego defenses are not visibly displayed by all minority group members. They fall into two categories: the first being extropunitive, which is essentially aggressive, outgoing, indicating attacks on the source of the difficulty: the second includes more introverted modes. The following paradigm summarized his theory:

Suffering From Frustration
Induced By Discrimination and Disparagement
Leads To
Sensitization And Concern Which

If the individual is
basically extropunitive
leads to

If the individual is
basically intropunitive
leads to

obsessive concern and suspicion

denial of membership
in groups

slyness and cunning

withdrawal and passivity

strengthening in-group ties

clowning

prejudice against other groups

self hate

aggression and revolt

in group aggression

stealing

sympathy with all victims

competitiveness

symbolic status

rebellion

striving

enhanced striving

neuroticism

Allport theorized that every personality has a pattern and a single victim of prejudice may display several traits, frequently blending some of the extropunitive side with some on the intropunitive...In short, sympathy, courage, persistence, and dignity mark such a personality. Some patterns, to be sure, are far less socialized and less mature. But it has been well documented that a fully developed personality is one that can handle its suffering without inflicting suffering in return.

The ego defenses that have been displayed by Black professionals and managers are so strong that they sometimes forget their marginality.

Two types of personality dynamics that come into play in prejudiced individuals are the authoritarian and the conformist personalities.

As a child the authoritarian may have frequently been punished by a stern father and in turn felt intense hatred for him. Unable to express his feelings for fear of further punishment, the authoritarian found these aggressive emotions threatening and unacceptable, denied them and instead began to project them onto others. If he felt hatred for his father, he saw hatred not in himself but in the dangerous outside world.

Consequently, the authoritarian typically conveys an idealized picture of his parents as absolutely perfect and

loving. Generalizing their unrealistic view to other authorities, the authoritarian comes to view the world in good-bad, up-and-down power terms. He is generally outwardly submissive to those he sees as authorities with power over him. Similarly, he is aggressive toward those he sees as being beneath him in status. This hierarchical view of authority has led to the label of "authoritarian personality". Prejudice becomes for individuals possessing this personality, "a crutch" upon which to limp through life. Lacking insight into their inner feelings, they project their own unacceptable impulses on the minorities whom they regard as being beneath them. (Pettigrew 1977) By no means do all white Americans who hold anti-Black opinions and participate in discriminatory actions exhibit the authoritarian personality syndrome. For many, they are socially adaptive in a racist society. In sharp contrast to the deeply rooted bigotry of authoritarianism, the bigotry of "conformity" requires prejudice as a social entrance ticket. The conforming bigot wants to be liked and accepted by people important to him; and if these people are anti-Black, he reflects their attitudes. (Pettigrew 1977)

Humanitarian Goals.

"In years gone by, American social institutions have approached Blacks as being 'inferior white people'. They were not perceived as being human beings in their own right. The

humanitarian goal of white people was to make Black people 'equal to white people'. Those Blacks who subscribed to such a policy had to perceive themselves as being outcast-OFF-whites if you will--rather than human beings in their own right. They had to become civil rights advocates, striving for equal treatment, school integration and such.

'Authentic Black men' recognize that to be 'equal' to whites is to agree to participate in one's own oppression and to agree to oppress others. Recall that the original Uncle Toms were white men, not Black men. White youths who sought to think for themselves were forced into being hippies, weathermen, beatniks and were shot down on university campuses. (Wilcox 1977)"

Pentup Frustrations.

The pent-up frustrations that Black people have can destroy motivation, self-confidence and emotional stability. Constant experiences of being rejected tear at the inner emotional fabric of the Black person who wants so badly to cry out and curse his white offender. But he will be fired if he opposes prejudice on his job, he will receive a low grade if he criticizes discrimination in his class at school, he will be arrested if he charges the police officer with racism.

The perception that whites have of Black inferiority and white superiority is their most profound basis for personal pride. It serves as a basis for white self-esteem,

self-esteem provides a reason for living. It is a basis for saying "I am somebody". This quality is nearly non-existent for the Black person. Racism is a death threat that becomes an actuality for most Blacks. The person's life is ten years shorter than that of whites. Racism is a killer. As Blacks lose hope they lose their lives. The incidence of suicide, strokes and heart attacks in the Black community is greater today than at anytime in history. (Faulkner 1981)

Discrimination in the insurance industry has also created a great deal of frustration among Blacks and whites as witnessed by excerpts from several major newspapers.

- . Insurance Firms Ordered To End Job Discrimination
(Boston Globe, 1975)

"At least two insurance executives acknowledged privately, however, that some companies have avoided only the most flagrant violations of law and are not actively seeking to promote women and Blacks from within their current employee ranks." (Boston Globe, 1975)

- . Bias By GEICO Alledged Against Blacks, Women
(Washington Post, Feb. 26, 1976)
- . "Government Employees Insurance Company, a financially troubled auto insurance firm that is one of the Washington area's largest private employers, has been described as a 'civil rights disaster area' in a class action filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, alleging widespread discrimination against Blacks and women."
- . USF&G Settles Suit For 3.5 Million Dollars

"Jack Mosely, Chairman USF&G, said one reason for negotiating the settlement was 'paranoia' about what would happen in court with a liberal judge."
(Baltimore Sun, Dec. 24, 1981)

- . In 1958 James Harris, who is presently the Executive Director of one of the largest anti-poverty agencies in the Northeast was denied employment by 42 insurance companies after graduating from Hillyer College and the University of Hartford with honors while majoring in Business and Personnel Management. James ended up pursuing a career in social work. Many Blacks stayed away from the insurance companies rather than suffer the humiliation of being rejected or being hired into menial jobs. (Hartford Courant, Nov., 1963)

In an interview with Jerome Bartow, Vice President and Director of Administration, The Hartford Insurance Group, the Hartford Courant (sec. 1982) was able to report on the following:.

"He raps the insurance industry for being '...slow moving and conservative. The opportunities to advance quickly aren't there, especially with the economic constraints insurers are working under nowadays. Harvard and Yale grads aren't breaking down the doors to get in.'

Insurance also pays less than other industries, he adds." We don't offer as much money to college grads as an IBM or a Polaroid. And young grads aren't looking totally to where there might be career growth, but going for the bigger salary. In that respect Blacks aren't any different than whites.

He is distinctly unenthusiastic about the affirmative action efforts of insurance companies. 'The insurance business in general has a bad reputation among Blacks," says Bartow. "Look around the insurance companies and see how many Blacks are in meaningful positions. Not many.'

'Hartford corporations ought to be doing better', he contends, 'young Black people in Hartford want to work in insurance. They view it as the power structure in the city'." (Hartford Courant, Dec., 1982)

The Discriminatory practices in the insurance industry originated in the early days when Blacks were not only denied employment but were also prevented from purchasing

insurance, all based on white supremacy. These discriminatory practices have become ingrained in the personnel practices of today's organizations. They are so ingrained that unless you are a victim of the discriminatory practices you don't recognize their existence.

Discrimination prevents many hiring managers/personnel officers (both Black and white) from making rational business decisions with regard to the hiring, promotion terms and conditions of employment of Blacks.

Revelation of Feelings.

There are ways in which Blacks can make the system work for them but first they must recognize the forms racism take. One of the methods used was developed by America and Anderson.

America and Anderson (1979) analyzed answers to the following questions: How emotionally open and honest can Black managers afford to be on the job? Corporations are treacherous environments, so why would anyone suggest under such circumstances these managers should reveal their true feelings, except in ways calculated to produce some benefits? America and Anderson felt that reality requires extreme discretion. But emotional health is also a consideration, and is likely to be served better when some feelings are allowed to show on the job.

Their study focused on:

- . Recognizing conscious and internal psychic factors
- . Feelings toward employers
- . Handling stress
- . Handling anger
- . Sources of psychological satisfaction

Following are the Racist Types set forth by America and Anderson:

"The terms "racism" and "racist" are very loosely used these days. This imprecision causes problems and additional misunderstandings. It may help to make distinctions among types of racists so that discussion of on-the-job conflict may be more accurate.

The practice of applying the term to Black individuals, popular with certain conservative and neoconservative writers, business leaders and politicians is merely a tactic, an effort to go on the offensive and force their Black opponents to react and defend themselves after 15 years of pressure and change. Racism involves more than mere interracial conflict, hostility and dislike.

We offer a preliminary and speculative attempt to set forth seven types of racism. Here the term applies only to white people's attitudes toward Black people. Few, if any, Black people assume a general and inherent superiority or believe they are therefore entitled to dominate, the key element in the overall definition. Thus, there can hardly be such a thing as a Black racist. Black people who are consistently and unreasonably hostile toward white people may be many uncomplimentary things, but they are probably not racists.

Type 1.

Persons of this type seem to believe the presence of Black people in the United States is acceptable as long as they are economically productive but politically inert. In the present circumstances, however, Black people are participating more and more actively as citizens, economic agents, and even as leaders. Their economic, political, cultural and social influence is growing. Type 1 people in this case would support programs to reduce Black people's presence here, restrict their participation, resubjugate many, and eliminate some. This type includes ideologically archconservative hard-line managers. It appears to be a very small but dangerous group, the American counterpart of the dominant South African nationalist leadership class.

Type 2.

These people do not privately desire to purge the country of the activist Black population as do those of Type 1. However, they are committed to maintaining the current distribution of society's desirable goods and status. They would like to roll back somewhat the social changes of the last 15 years. Type 2 probably includes many, and perhaps

most, senior executives. In individual contact with junior Black managers, many are nevertheless capable of being supportive, friendly, and even helpful because of their tendency to see Black achievers as anomalies and exceptions to a generally negative set of personal beliefs about Black people.

Type 3.

Most Type 3 persons are political conservatives. However, they are not flatly opposed to the changes of the recent past. They are, instead, ambivalent about the desired magnitude of social change. They do not want much change, but they see that some change serves their needs and the nation's interests, and is fair. They are not egalitarian and are highly conscious of personal advantages in the status quo. They do believe in inherent racial superiority and do not feel guilty about it. They are free from any strong desires to be liked or trusted by individual Black associates.

They are not likely to say one thing and mean another. They will not mislead or betray. Arm's length dealings with them can be businesslike and rewarding. These last four points serve to distinguish them from Type 4 people. Type 3 appears to include most middle managers and many professional accountants, consultants, lawyers, and business educators.

Type 4.

The people of this type are ambivalent about the desired magnitude of social change. They have had a change of heart since 1965. They resent Black assertiveness of the last 15 years. They are angry about many specific public and private incidents and insults and are in a reactionary and punitive mood regarding public and corporate policy. However, because of their early life experiences, often elite education, and enlightened self-image, they still feel progressive in some social matters. This type is sometimes called neoconservative or backlash liberal.

They can be treacherous, unreliable, and intellectually dishonest. They privately believe in inherent racial superiority but are conflicted emotionally on this and other complex social matters.

Type 5.

This category includes those whom most people would think of as traditional liberals. They share many characteristics with Type 4 persons, but feel guilty about them. Many have turned inward in the last few years and are now working on deep expression, in some cases through faddish therapies and escapist hobbies. Black managers should approach Type 5 persons with caution, since they are often in personal or philosophical transition.

Type 6.

The managers of this type tend to be good-natured, friendly, socially unconscious, and largely apolitical. They do not have strong prejudices, but neither do they seem to have thought much about complex social realities. They can make good working associates, but their lack of depth and lack of social perception limit their value as allies in any dispute involving a social principle.

Type 7.

These people are essentially not racist at all or are about as nonracist as adult Americans can be. They make good personal friends and colleagues. They are often socially very aware and are frequently courageous and reliable in showdowns on principle. Indeed, they are often more trustworthy and helpful than some Black colleagues.

They are a small but growing segment of the managerial population. The only reason for including them at all is that many probably retain some slight residual of assumed superiority. Individuals who truly do not feel any racial superiority deserve to be recognized as nonracist.

It is possible for Black managers to work effectively with individuals of each type. It simply pays to be alert, not looking for trouble or being oversensitive to slight remarks, but aware of these realities.¹⁵

¹⁵America, Richard F. and Anderson Bernard E. "Black Managers How They Control Their Emotions" Across The Board, April 1979, P. 80-82

The key to Blacks being able to cope with discrimination is to recognize that it occurs at all levels of the corporation.

This author has used this study as a tool in helping young Blacks coming into the insurance industry better understand the dynamics of the organization. Discrimination does not only involve young Blacks it can occur at any level of the organization.

Levels of Discrimination.

Taylor (1972) theorized that at any level and in any position discrimination is a crushing, dehumanizing experience. Perhaps nowhere are the effects of discrimination so devastating as in the executive suite, where these inequities are played off in an atmosphere of more than usual stress. Taylor discussed the target of that particular brand of discrimination, the Black American executive and the double standard he encounters, and offers some suggestions to Blacks and to American businesses for effectively counteracting corporate racism.

The suggestions offered by Taylor for Blacks in major corporations were:

- . Know thyself. Role conflict and ambiguity are among the most common ills in American society today.
- . Decide "where" you are going. Very few, if any, Blacks will become presidents of fortune 500 companies or major universities or anything that is predominantly white, in the near future. (Since this article was written there has been at least two Blacks appointed as presidents of major universities).
- . Get some help from someone who can help you.
- . Stay away from the window.

- Young Blacks entering corporations should talk to some current managers of EEO before taking these jobs (EEO, Urban Affairs, etc.)
- Black managers and executives in "special" staff jobs might find it useful and personally rewarding to set in motion those organizational activities necessary to enlarge their jobs to include a wide variety of challenging responsibilities under the area of urban affairs.

Taylor made the following suggestions for American corporations:

- . Get off the Black man's back.
- . To thine own self be true.

In 90 percent of the corporations, the executives acknowledged a desperate need for white senior executives to assess and reassess their position in relation to Blacks in the executive suite. (10 years later this author still sees the necessity for this happening).

- . Executive search teams would be well-advised to re-examine their policies and practices of selecting "indigenous community leaders" for executive positions.
- . Keep Blacks out of the window.¹⁶

Although Taylor conducted this study in 1972, this author has found that some of the same symptoms exist today. There are still questions about how much progress has been made by the Federal Government in their attempt to integrate Blacks into American corporations.

Experiences Vs. Expectations.

Humphrey (1977) in his study, Black Experiences Versus Black Expectations, concluded that:

¹⁶Taylor, Stuart A., "The Black Executive and the Corporation A Different Fit", MBA, Jan. 1972, P. 91-97

1. Black workers as a class are still adversely affected by employment discrimination.
2. There was some improvement in the overall posture of Black workers. This improvement may be due at least partially, to the vigorous enforcement of Title VII by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and to court action filed by the Commission since 1972.
3. Black progress was minuscule.
4. Black workers were treated differently from white workers and were underutilized in each of the selected job categories. This inequality of treatment between Black and white workers is of such magnitude that it could not have happened by mere chance, it had to be the result of deliberate employment decisions designed to limit the penetration of Blacks into selected categories. It is doubtful if such occupational deficiencies could have occurred through the process of randomly selecting employees from a common pool.
5. The existence of wage gaps in 1974 means that Blacks are entering the job categories through job assignments which provide lower earnings than whites and that employers' promotional practices permit only a few Blacks to move upward into better paying job assignments as compared to whites.
6. The economic impact of employment discrimination against Blacks has not lessened, but indeed, has increased during the period 1969-1974.
7. The enforcement of Title VII by the EEOC has had a favorable impact on Black participation.
8. Blacks are required to meet more stringent educational criteria than whites when competing for jobs.
9. There are enough Blacks with the required number of years of schooling to close the employment gap if they were given equal employment opportunity for employment.
10. Assuming the Black employment available rates and Black participation rates will increase by some unknown quantity in the future, it will be sometime in the 21st century before the employment gaps will close and Blacks achieve fair share levels of employment.

One of the purposes of this study was to estimate Black employment gaps that exist when Black experiences in the workforce are measured against Black expectations based upon fair share employment levels. Another purpose was to calculate the economic loss to Black workers which is associated with employment discrimination.

Humphrey's study tends to refute the contention by many researchers that forces other than employment discrimination play a major part in the inability of Blacks to advance into higher levels in major corporations.

Discrimination or a Rational Decision.

There are two schools of thoughts concerning the labor market disparity between Blacks and whites. In one school there is Aigner (1980), Cain (1980), Link (1977), Ratledge (1977), Flanagan (1974), Sowell (1981), among others, who believe that there is discrimination but it is based on pre-market factors and that corporations are making "Rational Business Decisions". The other school believes that discrimination occurs in the labor market, they include, Blau (1981), Kahn (1981), and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. There is substantial disparity between Blacks' and whites' income. When you combine the income gap, the lower labor force participation rate and the high unemployment rate you can understand why Blacks live under continuous stress. The results of the economic stress can

be seen in forms of deteriorated mental and physical health and increased criminal aggression. Brenner (1976) estimated that a 1.4 percentage point rise in unemployment during 1970 accounted for 51,570 more deaths between 1970 and 1975 than would have occurred had the unemployment rate not risen in 1970. Brenner's study showed that rates of mortality, mental hospitalizations, and imprisonment for periods of approximately 25 years, between 1935 and 1973, could be explained by measures of economic activity per capita income, unemployment and inflation rates.

In an effort to determine if wage disparities are due to rational business decisions or discriminatory practices, several studies were conducted using regression analysis: rewarding Blacks and whites at the same rate, holding pre-market factors constant. The results of some of these studies follow:

- . Link and Ratledge found that approximately 86% of the existing wage disparities was due to pre-market differences and 13.2% to labor market discrimination.
- . Flanagan attempted to determine whether age influences wage disparities--he used two age groups: 46-60, and 15-25. He contends that rational business decisions are being made based upon differences in pre-market factors and that discrimination is declining in the marketplace. In the older group there was a 42% total wage differential with 67% and 33% attributable to pre-market differences and discrimination. With the younger group there was a 29% disparity; 75% due to pre-market differences and 25% to discrimination.
- . Sowell asserted that age, geographic location and fertility rates affect income attainment and employment levels more than racial discrimination.

According to him, empirical studies holding age, location and education constantly show that discrimination has a minimal effect on the socio-economic status of particular groups. (Sowell 1981)

On the other side of the issue, we have the individuals and groups who assert that income inequalities, non-white employees being concentrated at the bottom rungs, etc. can be explained by discrimination. Their philosophy is expressed in the statement that follows. "Today's discriminatory processes originated in our history of inequality, which was based on philosophies of white and male supremacy. These processes became self-sustaining as the prejudiced attitudes and behaviors were built into the operations of organizations and their supporting social structures (such as education, employment, housing and government). These built-in mechanisms reinforce existing discrimination and breed new unfair practices or damaging stereotypes. Such discrimination then perpetuates the inequalities that set the processes in motion in the first place."¹⁷

"Both conscious and unconscious forms of prejudice can propel discriminatory processes. But discrimination is more than individual expressions of bias based on irrational ideas of racial, ethnic, or gender superiority. When

¹⁷U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Affirmative Action in the 1980's: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination (Washington, D.C.) Clearinghouse Publication, Nov. 1981

discrimination is widespread and entrenched, it becomes a self-regenerating process capable of converting what appears to be neutral acts into further discrimination."¹⁸

Using this history as a base it is reasonable to assume that disparities in employment have resulted from discrimination in the labor market.

A recently completed study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights examined the nature and extent of employment disparities.¹⁹ They warned that quantitative evidence alone cannot be used to determine the role of discrimination in producing disparities; such a determination requires a qualitative analysis of the behaviors, motivations, and patterns that caused the disparities. With this in mind they used statistical analysis to determine the extent and causes of the disparities. They felt that pervasive employment disparities may indicate that discrimination is continuing. In their study they examined two possible causes other than discrimination that might have caused employment disparities, they were:

- . Poor economic conditions.
- . Differences in the employment status of minorities and women that might be due to their demographic characteristics, which differ in key respects from those of minority males. They also examined vocational training, educational level, age and

¹⁸IBID

¹⁹U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Unemployment and Underemployment Among Blacks, Hispanics and Women, Washington, D.C. Clearinghouse Publ., (Nov. 1981) P. 1-98

geographic location, all items identified by Thomas Sowell as major causes of disparity in employment between minorities and women when compared to majority males.

The commission concluded that there is extensive disparity in the U.S. labor market. Majority males had a substantially lower rate of unemployment than Black and Hispanic males and females. Only majority females experienced unemployment less often than majority males. They found by measuring a variety of ways of underemployment that the disparity between majority males, Hispanics, Blacks and women were not limited to one particular form of disadvantage in employment:

- . Majority males experienced intermittent employment less often than any group except majority females.
- . Majority males were involuntary part-time workers less often than any other group.
- . Majority males were in marginal jobs less than half as often as any other group.
- . Majority male workers had household incomes below the federally established poverty lines less often than any other group except majority females.
- . Majority males were overeducated for their occupations less often than any group except majority females.
- . Majority males received inequitable pay less frequently than any other group.
- . The smallest disparity in unemployment rates between groups occurred in the early 1970's. Even at that time, however, minorities were about twice the rate of majority males.
- . During the decade the disparities grew as the burdens of the mid-decade recession fell heaviest on minorities and women.

- . With the close of the decade and a general increase in unemployment, the disparities did not go away and often continued to increase.

The data were also analyzed to determine whether region, local unemployment levels or type of industry could be considered important factors. When compared with majority males in those areas the disparities remained constant and in some cases actually increased.

Additional analysis examined the extent to which the disparities in employment and underemployment reflected differences in the characteristics of the workers, including their age, education and training, as measured by the amount of vocational preparation required for their occupations. These factors directly affected the younger workers putting Blacks and Hispanics at a disadvantage because they have less education and training and are younger than majority males; majority females also had lower levels of training though their education and age were about the same as majority males.

These differences did not account for group disparities, however. Among workers of the same educational level, for instance, majority males continued to have the lowest rate of underemployment. The same situations existed among workers with similar skills and age, with the exception of teenage workers (most of whom, regardless of race, ethnic background, or sex, had high rates of underemployment).

Increased education or training leads to lower rates of unemployment and underemployment for all groups, but especially for majority males; in some instances the disparities were greater among workers with more education.

The data in the study show that disparities were pervasive but also that Blacks, Hispanics and women did not have identical patterns of employment. It also has shown that improvement in the overall health of the economy and in the education or skill levels of Blacks, Hispanics and women lead in some cases to the reduction of the disparities, but not to their elimination. The suspicion, therefore, remains that discrimination continues to have a major effect on Blacks, Hispanics and women in their struggle to find jobs commensurate with their qualifications and experiences.

Views of Top Management About Their Progress.

A study by the National Industry Conference Board found a gap forming between company policy and performance in the employment of Blacks. Few of the companies studied were doing as well as they wanted to, or even as well as the top brass thought they were doing. The study concluded that all of the successful companies had one thing in common: "A chief executive determined that the program produce results, and willing to commit himself to its success for an indefinite period of time". (Young 1971)

Myrdal (1944) theorized that if one employer hires Blacks and others shun them, all Blacks will go to the first employer giving him a disproportionate number of Blacks. The first employer will be shunned by white workers. The best he can do is fix percentages of Black workers; but that means giving up the principle of selecting Black and white workers on an individual basis. Thus the very fact that there is economic discrimination constitutes an added motive for every individual white group to maintain such discriminatory practices. Discrimination breeds discrimination.

The paradox of white behavior in relation to Blacks is that as whites believe favorable outcomes are occurring, they are actually maintaining (or enhancing) unfavorable effects. By discussing racial issues less frequently than Blacks, whites reduce their opportunities to learn about these dynamics. (Alderfer & Tucker 1979)

Until World War II, the industrial workforce of the United States consisted chiefly of immigrants from Europe who had come to this country to escape regimented and impoverished lives and who had a vision of the United States as a land where one could rise from rags to riches in a few years. With this view of the land to which they were coming, it was only natural that these workers accepted the attitude toward Black people held by the whites already here. It is true that these workers waged many militant struggles against the American Capitalist, but these

struggles were always limited by the workers acceptance of racist policies by which the Blacks were kept beneath them and by the fact that they themselves were willing to keep Blacks down as a basis for their own elevation. (Boggs 1970) Many of these same immigrants have risen to positions of power in major corporations taking with them the same attitudes and behaviors that have kept Blacks in subservient positions.

Is There Racial Discrimination in the
White American Life Insurance Industry?

This author was able to validate the preceeding statement when he analyzed the papers published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights titled "Discrimination Against Minorities and Women in Pensions and Health, Life and Disability Insurance". The Commission called the consultation on April 24-26, 1978 to examine issues of discrimination against minorities and women in the area of pensions and in the areas of health, life and disability insurance. Nine papers were submitted; this author has extracted excerpts from the papers on discrimination in employment.

Dr. Herbert S. Denenberg, former Insurance Commissioner of the state of Pennsylvania, opened his presentation thusly:

"My own analysis is that nothing really happens very much to change anything unless the Commission or some third party, some civil rights group, some consumer group, some other organization, is actually pounding away at the insurance industry to bring about change. I am sure that the Commission has already discovered

that the insurance industry may be slightly hypersensitive to criticism in this area, and I think that one of the reasons they might be hypersensitive to criticism is that they are vulnerable. I don't think they have responded as fast as they should; I think they have allowed too many abuses to continue that should have been changed a long time ago."

The second presenter was Dr. F. Marion Fletcher, Professor of Management, Louisiana State University. He presented a paper describing a study conducted by him and his wife Dr. Linda Fletcher, the first Black woman and only woman to graduate from the Wharton School with a Ph.D. in Economics with a concentration in Insurance. Mrs. Fletcher had conducted a study of the Insurance Industry in 1966 while at the University of Pennsylvania. This study was a followup to the original study. This author found the following excerpt from Dr. Fletcher's presentation quite interesting and extremely relevant to this study. As recently as ten years ago, one could have said at least with respect to the employment of women and minorities in the insurance industry, that Denenberg was too temperate in his criticism of the insurance industry. That may be the first time anybody ever accused Herb Denenberg of being too temperate in criticism of the insurance industry. As recently as 1966, Black employment in the industry was a measly 3.3 percent. Women - white women, mostly were employed in substantial numbers, but were relegated to the clerical jobs. About 46 percent of total employment was female.

There was so much clerical work to be done, and women were more available at attractive pay rates to the industry.

In attempting to analyze employment in the insurance industry, it is important to keep in mind there is virtually no blue-collar employment in the industry. Ninety-six percent of the jobs are white collar jobs. This accounts partially for low minority employment totals historically. Blacks and other minorities might have been able to find blue-collar jobs in a variety of industries, but were largely excluded from white-collar jobs.

As of 1966, then, minorities - men and women - had a strong position in custodial jobs; white women dominated the clerical jobs, and the high-pay, high status jobs have grown in the 1966-1975 period, both numerically and proportionately. From 1970-1975 alone, they increased from about 44 to about 49 percent of total industry employment. That excluded the clerical workers. Therefore, if minorities and women have to obtain significant employment in the industry, the desirable jobs must be open to them."

Some of the employment statistics supplied the Commission by Dr. Fletcher can be found in Appendix A.

In his discussion Mr. Edward A. Robie, Senior Vice President, Human Resources, the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States responded to Dr. Fletcher's paper. He complimented the Fletchers for a job well done but he had some concern about some of the conclusions, if quoted out of context; he stated:

"In the part of the Fletcher paper dealing with insurance company employment in selected SMSA's it is unfortunate that they did not include data for New York, the SMSA employing by far the largest number of people, or for the other large urban concentrations such as Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Atlanta. In addition, it would have been helpful if Black population and workforce proportions had been included by SMSA, as well as data on proportions of college graduates within these populations and workforces. This would, I think, begin to give a clue as to the degree to which this workforce is currently qualified for what the Fletchers describe as the desirable jobs. The Fletchers have used proportions of minorities and women in the labor force as their measure of adequacy of representation of these groups within the insurance industry."

It should be noted here that Mr. Robie's concerns are valid in his mind because they are based on the affirmative action efforts of his company, "The Equitable", the company that this author feels is making the best progress in the industry. However, when you examine the workforces of some of the other large companies in the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical area such as Prudential, Metropolitan, MONY and New York Life, their results in the movement of Blacks into senior level positions "pales" in comparison to Mr. Robie's company.

An excellent example is the fact that among the 176 Equitable Agency Managers, 15 were minorities and one of their seven divisional agency vice presidents was a minority. When you compare the Prudential Life and the Metropolitan Life whose sales forces were larger, you would not see the same proportional representation of minorities in managerial roles. When this author was on the compliance staff of the Social Security Administration he found that the minority sales managers and salesmen in the Metropolitan and Prudential were concentrated heavily in the debit side of the business (the less desirable sales positions).

While the Equitable is doing a very good job at integrating Blacks into higher levels it should be noted that this consultation took place 5 years ago and the minority who was a divisional vice president has not been promoted beyond the vice presidential level at the time of this study. In fact, there are only two Black Senior Vice Presidents in the industry, they are in the CIGNA Corporation; both were promoted in 1983 and both hold substantial line positions.

It is not that these companies have not made progress, because they have and as a whole, this author has not found a company in the industry whose intent was not good. In most cases this author has found that subtle kinds of discrimination (the kind that is hard to document) is the root cause of the lack of Blacks in senior management positions in the industry.

It is extremely difficult for these major life insurance companies to break away from their past beliefs in the superior white, inferior Black as demonstrated in the following excerpt from a book on "Risk Appraisal" published by the National Underwriter Company in 1946 which was required reading for many underwriters.

"General mortality of Negroes is at least 50 percent higher than whites, explainable by ignorance more than any single factor. Syphilis has a 10 times prevalence (Smille), homicide 6 times, tuberculosis 3 times, child birth 2 times. These high ratios are due largely to ignorance. Ignorance makes for a lesser appreciation of health values. Illiteracy explains environmental and vocational handicaps.²⁰

It appears that Dingman completely ignored the more adverse socioeconomic and environmental conditions experienced by most Blacks. In his presentation to the United States Civil Rights Commission, Robert J. Randall, Vice President and Actuary, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, (who happens to be Black) stated that his company changed its policy partly due to stiffening in 1935 of the New York State law against racial distinctions in insurance rates and commissions.

Mr. Randall felt that as laws similar to the New York State law passed, some companies began to accept applications of Blacks on equal terms, but with no strong marketing

²⁰Dingman, Harry, "Risk Appraisal", The National Underwriter Company, Cincinnati, Ohio (1946), 90-92

efforts.²¹ Excerpts from Mr. Randall's paper can be found in Appendix B.

Dingman also ignored the law enacted by many states against racial distinction in insurance rates and commissions.

This is the "mind-set" that the white life insurance industry was built on. Its superiority claims of race can be traced to Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's essay on the inequality of races in the mid 19th Century. A closer evaluation of Mr. Dingman's (Vice President and Medical Director for the Continental Assurance Company) statement will reveal the inherent racism in it.

- . It has recently been discovered that the Federal Government was responsible for injecting syphilis germs (Tuskegee Study) into Black males. How many other studies were carried on without the knowledge of the public?
- . Blacks were not afforded the same health care treatment as whites. An example is the now famous death of Bessie Smith (a famous Black singer) who was refused ambulance and hospital service after an accident. How many Blacks of lesser stature have suffered the same fate?
- . It is a well known fact that people relegated to poverty because of discrimination in housing and jobs commit brutal crimes against one another. A similar look at whites in Appalachia would no doubt produce the same results (high homicides) described by Dingman.

²¹United States Commission on Civil Rights
"Discrimination Against Minorities and Women in Pensions and Health, Life and Disability Insurance", U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (1978), 527-613

It is easy to see how these same beliefs could be/were transferred over to the personnel policies and practices of the white life insurance industry resulting in Blacks being relegated to the menial jobs. This is especially true of Black women.

A.T. Spaulding, Sr., retired President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, was also a presenter at the Consultation held by the United States Civil Rights Commission.²² Mr. Spaulding talked eloquently about the growth and development of Black women in the American Black life insurance industry, especially at the North Carolina Mutual. He attempted to demonstrate that if the white life insurance companies wanted to they could have the same results with the growth and development of minorities and women.

²²IBID, P. 230-236

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the author will present the methods and procedures used in this study. This study is descriptive in nature (Lehrman & Mehrens 1971) because it is concerned with determining the nature and degree of existing conditions. The study is non-experimental and intended to answer casual questions, therefore it is classified as ex-post facto (Lehrman & Mehrens 1971). Observational techniques, interviews and questionnaires are the primary data gathering vehicles. The questions to be answered are:

1. What is the history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry?
2. What are the views of Blacks and whites relative to historical discrimination and affirmative action in the white American life insurance industry?
3. Do the views of Blacks and whites contrast?
4. What do statistics reveal relative to the utilization of Blacks in professional, managerial, and sales positions in the white American life insurance industry?

POPULATION

Subjects Of The Research.

The subjects of this research are Black and white professionals in the white insurance industry. The emphasis is on individuals who work in sixteen major insurance companies.

In order to identify the research population, the author enlisted the services of EEO, affirmative action and human resource professionals. These individuals provided the author with access to both Black and white professionals in their workforce.

PROCEDURES FOR COLLECTING DATA

The set of questionnaires (2) was sent to EEO, affirmative action and human resource professionals and Black and white male/female managers in their corporation (Appendix C). Approximately 175 questionnaires were sent to Black and white professionals generating 102 responses (42 Black 60 white).

THE INSTRUMENTS

The first questionnaire is a demographic survey designed to enable the author to get a picture of the kinds of institutions responding. The first four questions were designed to identify the type company and determine when they hired their first Black and how long Blacks have been in managerial or officer positions. Questions five through eleven were designed to allow the author to determine the respondent corporation's state of consciousness with respect to the introduction of Blacks in the workforce.

Questionnaire two was designed to be answered by Blacks and whites individually. Questions one through four allows the author to illicit personal data on the respondent as to race, time in the company and status in the company. Questions five and six allow the author to ascertain the respondent's career aspirations. Questions seven through fifteen enabled the author to illicit the respondent's consciousness relative to the corporation's affirmative action efforts and the effects discrimination has had on the movement of Blacks into senior management positions.

Design & Implementation.

In developing the questionnaires, the author took care to insure that:

- . the direction to the respondents was clear and concise.
- . the respondents possessed information on all questions asked.
- . all of the questions were relevant to the problem.
- . the questionnaires permitted the respondents to accurately depict their feelings.

The personal interviews were structured to be uninhibited to permit a free flow of information. All answers to questions were recorded verbatim and every effort was made by the author not to influence the reliability of the data. In some cases interviewees were asked to respond to written questions and then followup with an oral interview. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. The questions used in the oral interviews can be found on the questionnaire at Appendix C. The oral interviews enabled the author to clarify some of the responses and to gain a more indepth view of the respondents.

Analysis of Data.

This research is descriptive ex-post facto and will include data analysis using descriptive statistics. The analysis will not be complex since the study is limited to determining the nature and degree of existing conditions and the refinement of hypothesis rather than the testing of an hypothesis within a significant random sampling of the research population.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter I this author will describe the effects that discrimination has had on the integration of Blacks into the white American life insurance industry. The methodology and a description of the instruments used was presented in Chapter III.

The first part of the chapter will contain historical research describing the utilization of Blacks in the workforce; specifically the barriers that hindered their introduction and growth. The second part describes the results of the demographic survey and the third part describes the results of the basic survey.

Historical Review.

On March 13, 1968, Congressman, William F. Ryan, wrote the commissioner of the Social Security Administration (Robert M. Ball) questioning the ability of the Social Security Administration to implement Executive Order 11246 against the Medicare Intermediaries ('The white life insurance industry being the largest'). He alleged that the Social Security Administration "was most derelict in its responsibility to promote equal employment opportunity in

responsibility to promote equal employment opportunity in federal contractors". Congressman Ryan felt the EEO-1 forms of the following companies (4 life or casualty and 3 Blue Cross/Blue Shield) had deplorable records in employing minority group members at skilled or white collar levels:

- .Arkansas Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Little Rock
- .Louisiana Hospital Service, Baton Rouge
- .Mississippi Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Jackson
- .Continental Casualty, Chicago
- .John Hancock, Boston
- .Travelers, Hartford
- .Union Mutual, Boston

Commissioner Ball felt Congressman Ryan was unfamiliar with the contract compliance process, as can be seen in the following excerpts from his response:

"While we are not as yet satisfied with the contract compliance results--the reports indicate that very substantial progress has been made and that this progress is continuing.

As I am sure you realize, our objective in our work with the contractors is to increase as rapidly as possible their employment of minority group members at all levels of responsibility and to make sure not only that there is no overt discrimination against minority groups but that contractors have an effective program of positive action covering recruitment, training opportunities, promotional opportunities and all other aspects of a good equal opportunity program."

The author feels that the Social Security administration was using a sound strategy when one considers the fact that they did not have the authority to impose fines. Many advocacy groups did not understand this strategy which is explained in the following excerpt from Commissioner Ball's response.

"The speed with which the goal of equal opportunity can be attained depends on a variety of factors such

as the rate of hiring by the contractor and the number of promotional opportunities that become open during a given period. In trying to move all contractors toward the desired goals as quickly as possible we have, of course, considered contract termination as a last resort. Contract termination does not create job opportunities and this, of course, is our objective. However, all contractors clearly understand that a failure to make good progress within a reasonable time will cause termination.

On an overall basis contract compliance has gone well, total minority employment has increased by about 10,000 persons, rising from 12,000 to 22,000 between 1965 and 1967. While this increase in the absolute number of minority-group employees is important, it seems to me that the most meaningful way to measure compliance during any given period of time is by the percentage of new employees that are minority group members, rather than by the proportion of the staff that is made up of minority group members.

During the last 18 months, our contractors have had a total increase in employment of somewhat less than 12 percent. About 35 percent of the increase in their staffs during this time have been minority-group members, with 25 percent being Negroes."

Following is a point by point analysis of Commissioner Ball's response with commentary by the author:

"In our contacts with the various community organizations throughout the nation, we found the insurance industry characterized by knowledgeable community leaders as one to which negroes and other minorities had long since ceased to look as a source of employment. From long experience, minority people did not believe that they could obtain decent employment in the insurance industry."

This author strongly agrees with the statement made by the Social Security Administration in that he has found that such organizations as the NAACP, the Urban League and others have constantly challenged the employment practices of many of the large insurance companies. In their efforts to be

helpful some of the organizations (in the past) contributed to the discriminatory practices. The following statement by a former personnel manager at Connecticut General illustrates the author's point:

"In 1943 a Black member of the Connecticut Inter-Racial Commission visited me to discuss the hiring of clerical employees. At no time during the interview was there the slightest hint of an offensive chip on the shoulder attitude or "carry the torch", or any threat of any sort. He preferred at the beginning of such a program, to have somewhat higher than necessary qualifications for the particular job, in the applicant.

I asked him his opinion on the advisability of:

- a. Hiring a special negro personnel assistant to handle problems of such groups. His answer was that at the start any such movement would tend to accentuate segregation that such a person would be looked to answer to all the problems by the clerical workers and they would not make any attempts to meet with others.
- b. Starting a number--say 10 or 15--at a time. He felt that negroes can discriminate just as much as white people, and anything which would tend to make them form a little coterie of their own was inadvisable. He felt the gradual introduction of colored workers would tend to break down any barrier quicker than anything else.

We discussed briefly resentment on the part of other employees of the introduction of such a program, and he said quite frankly that at the start we could expect such resentment. In general if management handled the matter firmly and indicated that it did not intend to waiver from its program, such resentment would only last a matter of two or three weeks and then would blow over.

In summary I simply say that if the type of applicants we might obtain through such a program were of the same general level of mental ability, personality, and social intelligence as Mr. Simpson, I would have no hesitation in recommending strongly the adoption of a policy of hiring colored workers."

The Connecticut General's manager's summary is indicative of the criteria established for bringing Blacks into the workforce and it illustrated why his company had hired only 4 Blacks (males) as of September, 1944. The four Black males had been employed 25, 22, 21 and 24 years respectively. All of them were Hallmen/Watchmen or they were employed in the Printing and Supply area. The number of Blacks employed by Connecticut General at this time was similar to the number employed by the Travelers, Aetna Life & Casualty and other life insurance companies in Hartford, Connecticut.

Commissioner Ball stated:

"Perhaps more important for the long run, there have been significant changes in attitudes, approaches and personnel policies and procedures which we are certain will result in continuing improvements in the future. As a result of our efforts, we have seen contractors re-evaluate and change or abolish tests which have previously been a barrier to minority people."

The author agrees in part with the Commissioner of the Social Security Administration but he has found that in most cases the overt attitudes were changed to covert attitudes as illustrated in the following excerpts from compliance interviews and conversations with white managers over the years.

In 1967 there was still a great deal of doubt expressed by managers about the ability of Blacks to succeed as salespersons, as seen by the following comments by a white manager:

"We are concerned here with the acceptance of the company's position by all levels of employees, but especially management and supervision. Although many statements have been made, it is our belief that there is a real lack of understanding, both in the Home Office and the Field, of the meaning and reality of 'affirmative action'. Covert opposition still exists in some departments toward minority employees. A few incidents of supervisors' improper speech or action have been reported, though we were not able to establish solid evidence in any instance. There are departments where placement of a negro is difficult above the lowest level - Legal and Reinsurance to name two."

Problems.

Several problems stand in the way of more rapid progress in the field.

- . Managers are not sure about the market orientation of a negro salesman - does he aim (and should he be hired to aim) strictly at the negro market, or should he (can he) sell to the whole community?
- . Some managers maintain that the presence of a negro on the staff would cause incumbent sales and/or staff people to leave costing the company heavily. They don't believe the company's statements or that we will take the risk, and (with their compensation on the line) they won't either.
- . An office supervisor may take no action because she fears the reaction of her manager to hire a negro.
- . Group sales feels that a negro would not have the mobility a white man has, so the negro is a liability on their personal books.
- . Claim will not have a negro at any level in many offices in the south.

In 1971 some of the major companies felt the Social Security Administration was pushing very hard on them to establish "time phase" goals. This was interpreted as identifying how many higher level managers and officers from minority groups they would have in the next few years.

Prudential had a strict promotion-from-within policy and had told Social Security that they were overstepping their bounds when they asked for this type of goal.

Their basic position was that if you give any government agency an inch they'll take a yard, and that companies were being naive in their willingness to establish more precise goals than the Prudential.

The January 5-6, 1971 meeting was held at the Fountainbleau Hotel/Motel, 4040 Tulane Avenue, New Orleans, LA. Attending the meeting were representatives of the Metropolitan, Continental Assurance, Occidental, Nationwide, Mutual of Omaha, Pan American Life, Travelers, Equitable and Prudential.

This author was also able to gain some insight into the attitude of managers during 1971 when conducting compliance reviews. Following are some of their thoughts about hiring Blacks into sales positions.

- . I do not understand the Black - or the Black market.
- . I am frustrated with the Black level of trust.
- . I doubt if there is a market -- that will support the process.
- . It is impossible to develop training - agent relationship necessary to successfully develop a Black agent.
- . Communications are extremely difficult.
- . I can develop my agency - trainers - agents - faster, more efficient, if I do not get involved with Black agents.
- . It cost me money for little results.

The Social Security Administration felt that past discriminatory practices were having an astounding effect

on their ability to integrate the industry at a more rapid pace as seen by the following:

"The insurance industry had not employed minority employees in significant numbers prior to 1965 (the total minority percentage in companies under contract with the SSA being about 5 percent at the end of 1965). Many of the individual offices of our contractors had never employed any members of any minority group. Also those minorities who were employed were clustered in service jobs or in the lowest level clerical positions."

In an effort to gain some insight into the implied discriminatory employment practices that were prevalent in the insurance industry, this author wrote several State Insurance Commissions, but to his chagrin he was told that the commissions did not enforce laws dealing with discrimination. Further research unveiled a study on complaints and informal investigations handled by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination during the period July 1, 1945 - September 15, 1958. The study presents an excellent picture of the employment patterns of 20 insurance companies in New York that were investigated because of a verified complaint or informal investigation by the Commission. Eleven of the 20 companies showed some increase in minority employment and are described in sections A and B. The other companies, described in section C, showed no increase in minority employment (note the use of the term Negro and girl throughout the study).

- A. Three companies employed one or more Negroes for the first time after their initial contact with the Commission.

American Mutual Liability Insurance Company

In April, 1951, employment in the main office in New York City was said to fluctuate between 150-170 persons with 237 others working in nine branch offices around the state. No Negroes were employed. Because of resistance to the hiring of Negroes in many departments, a class in human relations was given by the company.

In January, 1952, 20 new employees had been added to staff (one Negro girl hired in October as a file clerk). The Negro girl was scheduled to be promoted to a policy writer.

American Lumberman Insurance Company of Illinois

In 1946, 345 persons were employed at the Madison Avenue, New York City branch, none were Negro. Nine Negroes were hired during January and February, 1947. In December, 1948, it was reported that seven of these nine Negroes had resigned for various reasons. The remaining two Negroes were typists.

In February, 1950 total employment had risen to 408 persons, twenty-one of whom were Negroes. The two Negro additions to staff were a photostat clerk and a mail clerk.

Allstate Insurance Company

In 1948, 176 office workers and a salesforce of 46 men were employed in the New York office. Four claims district offices and 23 sales offices were located upstate, there were no Negroes employed in these offices.

In September, 1954, 289 persons were employed in the Westchester office, none of whom were Negro, although 50 Negroes had applied for jobs the previous year. In November, a Negro file clerk was hired. In March, 1956, between 1600 and 1800 people were employed in the state, between 12 and 15 were Negro clerical workers. No Negroes were employed as claim adjusters.

The first Negro was employed as a trainee for an adjusters position in June of 1956.

- B. The following companies showed increased Negro employment.

Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States

In April, 1954, there were more than 100 Negroes employed by June. Negroes represented 118 of the 7,000 employees in the New York office.

The Home Insurance Company

In 1952, 2,400 people were employed in the Manhattan office, 20 of whom were Negroes. Between January and September, 1953, 435 persons were hired, 16 of whom were Negroes. In September, 25 Negroes were working in the following jobs; supervisor, assistant supervisor, key punch operator, key punch trainee, verifier, tabulator operator trainee, typist file clerk, clerk messenger, warehouse clerk, messenger and maid.

In May, 1955 Negroes represented 70 of the 2500 persons employed.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

In 1947, there were 14,000 persons employed in the New York City office, 12,300 of whom were employed in a clerical capacity. A Negro male was employed in the personnel department for the purpose of aiding the integration of Negroes in the company. By 1949, 13,000 persons were employed in clerical jobs and an additional 1,800 persons were employed as manual workers. Approximately 300-400 Negro girls and the one Negro man were included. Of the 3,000-3,500 agents employed, none were Negroes. There were 650 missionary workers, 140 elevator operators, 150 porters, none of whom were Negroes.

In 1956, Blacks and Puerto Ricans represented between 800-900 of 13,000 clerical workers.

Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York

Four of the 1,976 persons employed in the Home Office were Negroes, they were employed in the following categories: actuarial clerk, key punch operator, addressograph operator and laborers. None of the 121 Branch employees were Negroes.

In July 1950, 6 of the 2,000 employees were Negroes, one of the Negroes was an attorney.

New York Life Insurance Company

3,600 persons were employed in locations throughout the state in 1949. 89 Negroes were employed in the Home Office. 68 were messengers and 21 were clerks.

In 1957, there were 4,647 Home Office employees, 300 of whom were Negroes.

American and Foreign Insurance Association

There were 209 employees in 1954, one of whom was a Negro.

Liberty Mutual Insurance Company

In 1950, one Negro typist was employed.

C. The following companies employed no Negroes.

Fuller and Kern
General Insurance Company of America
Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company
Marsh and McLennan, Inc.
Benedict & Benedict
William H. McGee and Company, Inc.
Kwasha, Lipton and Clerk, Consulting Actuaries
Holly and Company, Inc.
Lawrence E. Simon, General Agent for Mass. Mutual
Arthur V. Youngman, Agency of Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company

During the period July, 1945 to September, 15, 1958, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination handled a total of 81 verified complaints and six informal investigations relating to discrimination in employment by 55 insurance companies or agents. Forty-five, or 56%, of the verified complaints alleged discrimination because of color (all Negroes).

One can get a clearer picture of the degree of racism within the insurance industry if they understood that

New York passed the first law banning job discrimination in 1944. The Ives-Quinn Bill, which made it illegal to keep anyone out of a job because of race, creed or color.

Employers, employment agencies and labor unions were forbidden to discriminate against employees in advancement. A five man commission policed the law. The penalty for ignoring the commission's directives was a \$500 fine and a year in jail.

Despite this law, the insurance companies were able to maintain a workforce that included a minimal number of Blacks in menial jobs for at least 20 years. Philadelphia attempted to bring the industry in line in 1965. Despite a tenacious attempt by the author to obtain copies of the final study he was unsuccessful. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights and all of the major libraries in Philadelphia and the State Capital were called but the study was not on file.

Demographic Survey.

In pursuing this portion of the study, the author demonstrates that the feelings/attitudes/behaviors about white superiority and Black inferiority that existed in the past towards the integration of Blacks into the insurance industry still exist today.

Individuals from sixteen companies were asked to participate, there was a seventy percent response to this portion of the study. Twelve (75%) of the companies were financial institutions (insurance companies). All of the companies hired their first Black more than twenty years ago. When asked how long have Blacks been managers/officers, they responded thusly: 1-5 years (25%), 5-10 years (25%), 10-15 years (38%) and 15-20 years (13%). None of the companies had Blacks in officer/manager positions twenty plus years ago (this alone should validate the positive effects of affirmative action programs).

Seventy-five percent of the EEO Officers who responded felt that changes took place once Blacks were introduced into the workforce. All of the other respondents witnessed little or no change at all. A selected group of their responses follow:

- . Once Blacks (and other minorities) were introduced, there was a heightened awareness of "unique" problems that occur when an employee is visibly and/or culturally different. This awareness, however, came 25 years after Blacks were hired in professional positions.
- . Special briefings were given to senior management and to supervisors identifying the cultural and racial differences between Blacks and whites. At this time they were referring to Black men and women as Negro boys and girls.
- . An awareness that "other than whites" live in our society. An awareness that different cultural values and traditions exist in our society.

- . Management began to feel a need for awareness programs to bridge cultural/work oriented/communication differences. Blacks brought new ways of looking at problems, new solutions. Whites felt threatened by new (unknown) type of employer/manager. Blacks felt left out by important informal support systems and felt distrustful.

The highest level Black in the responding companies was President of one of the subsidiaries, (non-insurance) the others were VP's (8), Assistant VP's (2) and Assistant Sect. (2). Turnover among Blacks was high in 50% of the companies.

The EEO officers were asked to describe the attitudinal/behavioral changes in whites that occurred when they promoted/hired their first Black officer/manager, they responded thusly:

- . Cannot personally determine, however, company made a formal effort to determine career needs of minorities and to address those needs through, a special program to develop minority managers, awareness training for managers, and career development workshops for minorities.
- . There was a perception that it would not have happened if the individual was white. The individual has been an officer for ten years and has not been given another significant promotion.
- . The awareness that "other than whites" are now in the promotional pool for consideration.
- . Can't say, as I don't know when or where in the company this occurred. (My only experience was in one office I worked in - when first Black employee (manager) came in, several employees wondered if manager was qualified or was only brought in to meet an EEO/AA objective).
- . I was not with the company when that happened.
- . Can't answer.

- . Was not here at the time.

The EEO officers were also asked to describe any attitudinal/behavioral changes in Blacks in their workforce that are perceived to be different from company norms.

Their responses follow:

- . None
- . These are not "changes" they are just behaviors. Some Blacks use "Black slang" and are perceived to be more willing than white men to express their feelings, not just their thoughts. Some whites believe that Blacks approach problem-solving differently-less structured and formal-than company norms.
- . No real differences; only the visibility Blacks have due to looking different causes whatever we do to be noticed. Because of our visibility. Blacks tend to be less outspoken in large groups of whites, knowing whatever we say or do will be noted.
- . I don't think that most of the talented Blacks in our company have the attitude that one day they will be high level managers or VP's as do most of the whites.
- . For the most part, Blacks are not thought of as cognitive thinkers. Most whites believe that Blacks cannot communicate effectively (written/verbal).
- . Can't answer.

As stated earlier, the preceeding responses were put forth by the EEO officers of 16 companies. Following is an

analysis of the responses of Black and white professionals in these companies (Insurance).

Profile of Respondents.

Race	Black	White
. # of responses	42	60
. Supervise one or more Blacks	Yes-21-(50%) No-21 (50%)	Yes-36 (60%) No-24 (40%)
. I am an officer/ manager	Yes-30-(71%) No-12 (29%)	Yes-51-(85%) No-9 (15%)
. Average Service	7 years	14 years

Perceptions.

The most significant finding of the study is the difference in the perceptions of Blacks and whites as to why discrimination exists. 76% of the Blacks felt that it is institutional conversely, 75% of the whites felt that it is an individual's preference. The author feels this is an important finding that must be taken into consideration when developing programs to combat discrimination and racism.

Reasons For Staying.

Both Blacks and whites felt they have stayed in their company because their company is; progressive (Blacks 50%, whites 60%); people oriented (Blacks 57%, whites 65%); has good benefits (Blacks 57%, whites 50%). A striking difference in the response of the two groups is the feeling

by Blacks that their company pays well (57%) as compared to (45%) for whites, yet in personal interviews with Blacks, they feel they are paid less than whites.

An overwhelming majority of both Blacks (71%) and whites (75%) who responded felt that their career expectations have been met in their company, in interviews with Blacks, the author discovered that they did not see their companies moving them into senior level positions. Many of them felt that they would have to move to another company to get into a higher level position.

Affirmative Action Programs.

Whites (80%) felt that their company's affirmative action program was good or excellent, while only 43% of the Blacks had the same feelings.

Progress In The Organization.

There was a significant difference in the way Blacks and whites felt Blacks could progress in their company. Ninety (90) percent of the whites felt that Blacks could progress to their fullest potential, while only 21% of the Blacks had the same feeling.

The author feels that this finding is in line with many studies on racism which show that whites feel that Blacks are inferior intellectually and are performing at their maximum in their present jobs.

Another finding is that 29% of the Blacks felt that Blacks were hired to meet government quotas while only 5% of the whites shared that feeling.

Potential For Growth.

There is a significant difference in the perception of Blacks and whites, on the role discrimination has played in hindering the movement of Blacks into the executive suite. Twenty-five (25) percent of the whites surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that were it not for discrimination many Blacks would be in executive positions in their company. Conversely 80% of the Blacks surveyed shared this feeling.

Fifty (50) percent of the whites felt that their company had done all it could to relieve the effects of past discrimination, while only 7% of the Blacks shared this feeling.

What Can Be Done To Improve The Status Of Blacks In Your Company?

This section contains a selected number of quoted comments from the responses to the survey. The question was open-ended and restricted the respondent's reply to four (4) paragraphs.

Responses of Blacks.

- . Development programs designed specifically to speed up the process used to promote Blacks would be a good beginning.

- . Tying some portion of salary increases to how well managers develop minorities should produce positive results.
- . A sincere mandate from senior management (the President) requiring better corporate results in the areas of development and promotion of Blacks would certainly not go unattended.
- . Stronger affirmative action programs.
- . Active sponsorship/mentoring by white senior officers.
- . More visibility for Blacks (the right business type-not as show pieces).
- . Put more than one Black in a department at one time.
- . Give credit where credit is due, promotions when earned. Remove the double standard (having to do more for the same recognition).
- . Treating people as people, with basic respect. A willingness to appreciate cultural and individual differences between people.
- . More training opportunities and direct knowledge of what new employment opportunities are available. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, whites should be required to take some courses dealing with racism and how to supervise non-white employees.
- . Better recruiting methods to find qualified Blacks.
- . Place more responsibility on Black employees for career development.
- . Hire more Blacks who have demonstrated success in other careers and who have transferable skills.
- . Recognition of current conditions by senior management, who may not be aware of the discriminatory effect their hiring, placement and promotional practices are having. This might be best brought about through an externally initiated investigation by an authority having the power to penalize.
- . More teeth in the AAP Program. Managers should have direct ties between compensation and performance on AAP goals.

- . Mentorship program. High potential minorities need guidance in understanding pitfalls and how to take advantage of opportunities. This technique seems to work well in the Actuarial Program.
- . More attention in the Personnel Organization. My impression is that the Personnel Organization is not proactive on AAP issues. More "push" by them would improve the situation. More programs initiated by them are very important.
- . First, the company must begin to support community programs that will get more Blacks into the pipeline.
- . Secondly, start to promote Blacks without the over-concern that all risk of failure be removed.
- . Identify the potential in the present Black population, then set affirmative action goals to get them into the mainstream.
- . The problem with most corporations is the President Chairman's office will commit to affirmative action, but the line managers never make it happen until affirmative action becomes the responsibility of line management instead of the corporate office, the required progress will not be made.
- . Increased commitment to adding Blacks in first line production management positions throughout all divisions.
- . White America also needs to re-analyze their superior self-image. Backing off of this irrational and hard line will give them a chance to learn more about the other peoples of the world who are different from them but no less equal.
- . It is imperative for a company to recognize that each individual has his or her own resources which should be understood and utilized so that the individual is appreciated and accepted.
- . These resources are the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for an individual (minority and non-minority) to achieve a purpose or goal.

Responses of Whites.

- . More management training is needed - teach the advantages of supervising groups. Training for minorities would be needed too.

- . I feel the Blacks of this company are treated as fairly as everyone. If there are injustices in this company, it is to women - Black or white.
- . It is my opinion if the individual has taken the responsibility for their education and value as an employee, the company uses them to their fullest capabilities.
- . Continued efforts under the affirmative action program in recruitment for management programs.
- . Promotion and successful performance by qualified Blacks.
- . Hiring of Blacks for upper level positions in those specialized divisions unable to fill needs via promotion-from-within.
- . Maintain our strong affirmative action program - Don't let up corporately.
- . Hire good Blacks who have the ability and interest in moving ahead and then career path them to meet mutually agreeable objectives.
- . Better educate people making employment placement decisions about equal employment opportunities.
- . Training also, something has to be done to eliminate the notion that if a Black person is advanced, it's because they're Black rather than their competency. This presumes that one can't be Black and competent, too. I find this extremely poor and yet I think regulation of "quotas" has developed this misperception.
- . We need to continue to emphasize Black/white awareness programs and to be sure supervisory/management people participate, at least to some degree. Realistic objectives need to be set re: staffing and we must be sure to recruit quality people (of all races!) One or two bad experiences (attendance, attitude, quality of work) does more to harm affirmative action, than not hiring in the first place. It is unfortunate, but true, that such experiences are much more harmful to Black people than to white people. (Prototyping). We also need two or three key high level people "sponsors", a few successful higher level Black employees. I believe we are getting there, but it is painfully slow.
- . It is the individual's motivation level that determines the status attained.

- . More attention and understanding of objectives on the part of both senior and middle managers, and accompanying behaviors.
- . More acceptance of individual responsibility on the part of Blacks and others for their own circumstances...i.e., everything that doesn't match someone's expectations/hopes is not automatically racial discrimination.
- . Continue to pursue our affirmative action programs.
- . Train and develop to the minorities' needs as well as the individual's.
- . Take more risk with Blacks.
- . Have senior management take tougher more directive stands on the promotion and development of Blacks.
- . Fire Blacks quickly who are not performing satisfactorily.
- . More outside hiring and better support when hired. Better opportunities for good potential Blacks, increased awareness of cross cultural differences and institutional racism in society and the corporation.
- . Stronger direction from the highest level with aggressive hiring of top flight talent to provide role models.
- . Provide opportunities for establishing mentor/sponsor relationships of Blacks with successful executives.
- . Reward managers for taking "risks" with developing Blacks. Develop realistic and vigorous programs to improve the business english skills of Black clerical workers.
- . Greater awareness, understanding and sensitivity to the issues on the part of senior management. They are too far removed from the real issues. A greater sense of specific commitment needs to follow.
- . Promote the company/industry/location at schools and other forums.
- . Recruit, hard, for promising candidates at all levels.
- . Make developmental opportunities available to minorities (development jobs).

- . Ensure the development needs of a minority are properly identified and proper developmental action occurs.
- . Continue selective hiring of people whose educational background matches that of non-minority employees, and then try to assure they are properly developed and tested in a variety of assignments. In short, follow the same development path used for successful non-minority employees.
- . Place more qualified Blacks into the managerial positions that are in the main line of the business. Most Blacks who are managers are in the peripheral areas of the business, such as; legal, human relations, etc. Presently, very few Blacks are in manufacturing or line function type managers.
- . Recruit additional outstanding Blacks - both as role models for current Black employees and to demonstrate to any lingering doubters that Blacks can contribute as much as whites.
- . Require managers to attend training programs in recruiting, developing and relating to Blacks.

There is a distinct difference in the responses of Blacks and whites. Blacks reflected on improved hiring, developmental opportunities, exposure and emphasis by senior management. Although some whites reflected on improved management training and exposure for Blacks, most of them seemed to blame the victim and emphasized hiring new Blacks rather than developing those who are presently in the workforce. Blacks in the industry are aware of this and many rotate from company to company for promotional opportunities.

This study demonstrates that whites believe that favorable outcomes are occurring and are maintaining (or enhancing) unfavorable effects (Alderfer & Tucker, 1979). It also demonstrates that whites perceive Blacks as being

able to progress to their fullest potential and that discrimination has not prevented Blacks from moving into the Executive Suite. Conversely, Blacks felt they could not progress to their fullest and that discrimination has prevented them from moving into the Executive Suite. The feelings that are created by these two diametrically opposed views leads to a great deal of frustration, paranoia, depression and disoriented behavior on the part of both Blacks and whites in the workforce. A good deal of this behavior is demonstrated in some interviews the author held with some top Black professionals in the insurance industry:

(1) Q How did Blacks make it in the field offices of your company?

A. It was rough when they were isolated (one or two people).

Q. How did Blacks and women do?

A. Initially there was a pulling together, in the interim white women have outstripped Blacks.

Q. How are you doing at your level (Vice President)?

A. When you get up here you get those suicidal tendencies. You say, "you guys are doing it why can't I". You try to stick it to them, although you know you are going to get it.

(2) Q. How is it in field sales?

A. One hundred percent of the discrimination is "in house". As you become more successful, discrimination intensifies. Managers take credit for success while under-cutting you. They tend to hire people whom they know won't succeed. The whole office tends to discriminate, e.g., turn around on work, assistance, mentoring.

(3) Q. Why are you so depressed?

A. When I see some of the promotion decisions that are being made I feel like sitting down and crying.

A.(Several answers to the same question follow:)

- . Last year I worked my butt off, I am the top underwriter in my unit. My persistency is the best up there, yet I did not receive any more money than the worse underwriter. Everyone else was promoted in May. I received my promotion in July. These people don't give you recognition for anything you do, they are bigots. I will leave even if I have to accept the same salary I am getting. (This individual has since moved to two insurance companies for promotional purposes)
- . The frustrations that I suffered during the waiting after the interview for the opening began to surface at home. Although I am working harder now, (10-12 hours) I enjoy my job more. My energies were focused on outside activities before.
- . When I respond to a question they think that I am 'laid back' but when they respond to the same question in the same manner, they are described as being analytical thinkers. I feel like getting a gun and shooting all of them.

In a conversation with a Black woman professional who has twenty years experience in the insurance industry, the same degree of frustration was expressed:

"I grew up in a Jewish/Italian neighborhood in Hartford, without any problems. While in school, if you were able to maintain good grades, you were treated with the greatest respect and you were recognized for your achievements. It's different here on the job. You are not recognized for your achievements or what you know, you are recognized for who you know--Blacks don't stand a chance."

Many Blacks interviewed by this author stated that at times they had begun to believe that they were inferior because throughout their workday they watched less qualified

whites move ahead of them into positions of power. A recent study (1982) by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission supports this notion. Among other things the study stated:

- . That where Black men were compared to white men they were more often overeducated for their jobs and have greater difficulty transferring that educational experience into suitable jobs.

An excellent example of this finding can be seen in a recent conversation this author had with a Black man from one of the largest insurance companies in the United States. The individual is a Brown University undergraduate, who graduated with honors in applied mathematics. He has an MBA Degree and has passed seven actuarial exams. Additionally, he has experience as a vice president in one of the largest Black banks in the country. With this background he decided that he wanted to complete his actuarial exams and become a Fellow in the Society of Actuaries (an honor denied one of the greatest Black businessmen in the world, ASA Spaulding, former president of North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company). Because of his past experience he could sense that his immediate manager (a white woman actuary) was setting him up to fail. She was giving him very difficult tasks with incredible due dates while he was studying for his upcoming exam. He confronted his manager, expecting her to relax and she pressured him even more. He had to write a letter to the senior vice president in charge of the division to slow her down. She

retaliated by proposing to deny him his title if he passed his exam, something that's automatic in most cases.

Surprisingly enough, whites have expressed the same kind of frustrations to the author, theirs being focused on:

- . Feelings that they have done all they could.
- . Feelings that too much attention is being given Blacks.
- . Feelings that not enough attention is being given Blacks.
- . Searching for an answer to the problem of racism.

There are some companies that have made considerable progress at integrating Blacks into higher levels of management. The best in the insurance industry is the Equitable followed by Connecticut General, a CIGNA Company. These companies have established a good reputation for hiring and promoting Blacks, but they still only have two Blacks in senior vice presidential positions. There are no Blacks in executive vice presidential positions. The author questioned four of the most liberal white officers in one of the insurance companies to get their perceptions of some of the attitudinal/behavior changes that took place when Blacks were brought into higher level positions. Each of these officers were very much involved in the evolution of EEO/Affirmative Action at their company.

Q. Describe any attitudinal/behavior changes in whites that occurred when you promoted/hired your first Black officer/manager? (Several answers follow)

A. There was some "backlash". The strong and higher potential whites were more able to take it in stride. Those who were vulnerable by way of their performance were more threatened. My view is that

the symbolism of the officer appointment had more of an effect on the Black employee population (positive) than on the white employee population (negative).

- . People were and are very polite--they don't give proper feedback. Black jobs were created making it hard to go from a Black officer to an officer who happens to be Black.
 - . It became an accepted part of our culture that you really weren't a success until you could be creative in increasing the number of Blacks and upgrading them.
 - . A small minority believed it was a progressive step, a few saw it as inevitable, most regarded it as tokenism, a cave in to government pressure and a threat to their own future. It was not a popular decision.
- Q. Did any changes take place in the workforce once Blacks were introduced?
- A. Should qualify--when black pressure became visible, changes took place in the workplace. Blacks had been 'introduced' years before, but in lower level, stereotypical (in the racist sense) positions that were not perceived as threats to the white employee population.

Growing from the struggle of Black employees, the workplace became more confrontive, and in a sense, honest. Procedures and policies that had been handled without disclosure in the past became generally available to all employees.

A large majority of whites had not had contact with Blacks. Negative connotations were openly expressed. There was a negative reaction to affirmative action (still present covertly).

- . Prior to the mid sixties -- early seventies, the company strove to hire quality people which could be described as Male WASPS who dressed well (in keeping with current styles) had attended the best colleges and universities and who came from successful families. With the entry of Blacks came a realization, developing into a conviction, that quality takes many forms and that the company would be stronger in the long run if it could get away from its elitist approach and hire non-male WASPS.

The entry of Blacks focused our attention on the injustices in our personnel systems that affected everyone. Discriminatory behavior was not concentrated solely on the Blacks but solving problems vis a vis living and working with Blacks helped us in dealing with employees generally.

- . At the management level there was resentment cries of favoritism, and some subtle retaliation against those who were responsible for the growth of the Black management level group.
- Q. Describe any attitudinal/behavior changes in Blacks in your workforce that are perceived to be different from company norms.
- A. My response has to be viewed as highly subjective here. I do not view Black employees as behaving, in a collective sense, in a manner that is different from their white counterparts. Cultural, social, economic and religious differences tend to separate people. In general, and for good and appropriate reasons, Black optimism has been more strained than that of whites. While disenfranchisement from the "system" affects and alienates most workers, it seems to have had a more pronounced effect on certain Blacks. Current circumstances placed in a historical context would necessarily lead to this result.
- . Bunching -- sticking together which tends to reinforce racism. There is a difficulty in playing the game, they are too honest. They don't understand the politics.
- . Most of these have dissipated somewhat over 10 years. Initially, Blacks were seen as clannish, unwilling to risk individual action or an overly close relationship with whites. They wanted more theory to be "by formula" than "by judgement" which probably wasn't a bad idea at the time.

SUMMARY

Chapter four is a presentation of the historical and exploratory study which addressed four research questions. The process involved was; (1) the review and analysis of historical data relating to discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry; (2) the development of two instruments for collecting data from two distinct groups, one being Black and white EEO officers and human resources professionals and the other being the Black and white professionals who worked in the white American life insurance companies; (3) administration of the instruments, and; (4) Compiling the data and drawing conclusions. The balance of this summary represents an analysis of the authors research questions.

Research Question: What is the history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry?

The historical data demonstrates that there is a history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry. There has been a great deal of effort and resources expended by federal, state and local governments to enforce laws pertaining to discrimination and affirmative action against the industry. The principal

agency during the 1960's and early 1970's was the Social Security Administration (SSA). The SSA's approach (negotiating change rather than withdrawing contracts) resulted in the introduction of a large number of Blacks and other minorities into entry level positions in the industry.

Although there has been a history of discrimination, affirmative action has diminished some of the vestiges of institutional discrimination in the same manner in which it has diminished overt personal racism.

Research Question: What are the views of Blacks and whites relative to discrimination and affirmative action in the white American life insurance industry?

Responses to this research question were gleaned from the data in the instruments sent the Black and white professionals who presently work in the industry. The questions in this section of the instrument were able to illicit the views of the Black and white professionals on several issues relative to affirmative action and discrimination.

In responding to whether discrimination has had an effect on the movement of Blacks into senior management positions--Blacks felt that it had a noticeable effect, while whites felt the effect was less noticeable. Fifty percent of the white respondents felt that their company had

done all it could to relieve the effects of past discrimination, while only 7% of the Blacks shared that feeling.

The data generated by the responses of whites to this question demonstrates that whites believe that favorable outcomes are occurring and are maintaining (or enhancing) unfavorable effects (Alderfer & Tucker 1979). These beliefs coupled with the vestiges of historical discrimination in the industry has had a telling effect on the slow movement of Blacks into senior management positions.

Research Question: How do their views contrast?

The views and perceptions of the Black and white professionals were at direct opposite ends of the continuum in most instances when they responded to questions relating to the effect of discrimination on the integration of Blacks into the industry.

There were seven specific areas in the questionnaire where the views of Blacks and whites contrasted. The author found one of the most significant responses to be the response to the question concerning the form of discrimination. Seventy five percent (75%) of the whites felt that it is personal and 76% of the Blacks felt it is institutional. The author feels that if senior management evaluates the two responses they will find that the people are the

institution, thus enabling them to recognize and develop strategies to diminish the effects of discrimination.

Research Question: What do statistics show relative to the utilization of Blacks in professional, managerial and sales positions in the white American life insurance industry?

Statistics show that the movement of Blacks into professional, managerial and sales positions is improving, but that their movement into senior level positions has been and continues to be extremely poor. In 1966 Blacks represented 1.5% of the officials and managers, .5% of the professionals and 3.1% of the sales persons. In 1981 they represented 4.2% of officials and managers, 6.5% of the professionals and 8.8% of the sales positions. Currently there are only two Blacks in senior vice presidential positions in the industry.

CHAPTER V

Summary Conclusions and Recommendations

The overall intent of this dissertation was to present evidence demonstrating the effect discrimination has had on Blacks and whites when Black professionals are integrated into white life insurance companies in America. Using the descriptive ex post facto technique the author provided answers to the following questions (1) what is the history of discrimination against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry? (2) what are the views of Blacks and whites relative to discrimination and affirmative action in the white American life insurance industry? (3) how do their views contrast? (4) what do statistics show relative to the utilization of Blacks in professional, managerial and sales positions in the white American life insurance industry?

The author found the white American life insurance industry an exceptionally difficult industry to investigate regarding racism/discrimination. During the period 1974-1980 only one racial discrimination suit was settled against the industry by the EEOC. As a point of fact the industry was found guilty in only 9 cases during this period of time, six were for sex discrimination, two were for age and one was for race (Jagerson 1980). There may have been other charges but they were settled out of court.

It was discovered that very few State Insurance Commissions have investigated the companies and sanctioned them for their racist personnel practices. (See Appendix D) In fact most of the commissions are/were staffed by former insurance executives. On the surface the industry looks good, as Dr. Denenberg said "the industry is a remarkably enlightened and very public-oriented group, for example:

- . In 1980, 14.9% of their investments for socially desirable purposes was for minority deposits, education and other. (See Appendix E)
- . Two insurance companies were among the first in corporate America to have Blacks on their Board of Directors (Equitable and Metropolitan).
- . Eight of the 136 American corporations with Blacks on their Board of Directors are insurance corporations.
- . Eleven of the 136 corporations have 2 Blacks on their board; 4 of the 11 are insurance corporations.

Despite the good showing by the industry in meeting its social obligations, discrimination has been and still is prevalent when trying to integrate Blacks into upper management positions. (Appendix F)

This study demonstrated that prior to 1965 Black men were employed primarily in menial jobs such as watchmen, janitors and elevator operators. Black women were not hired into the industry until the late forties and this was into clerical positions. In some areas of the country (Philadelphia for one) Blacks were allowed to work but they were not allowed to participate socially with their co-workers. This prevented them from developing advocates in the informal system where most of the subjective evaluations take place. Today the informal network still exists but Blacks are not kept out because of social isolation. Today they are left out through benign neglect and by being placed in mostly peripheral jobs that are not profit making, nor do the jobs contain decision-making authority.

Blacks today in many white American life insurance companies are the classical "Marginal Man". In discussing the effects of discrimination with several liberal white officers in the industry the author discovered that there is a general notion that the intellectual understanding of the problem has changed radically in the positive sense among their senior officers. They felt that the senior officers interest is nowhere near as radical and that peer pressure has made the racist go underground.

Despite the positive attitude/behavior of many white officers and managers, institutional and personal racism is prevalent in the white American life insurance industry. Blacks coming into the industry must compete against an opponent (whites) who is advantaged because of past/present discriminatory practices in education and backgrounds which make whites in general, and white males particularly, automatically "qualified".

The author was challenged by a white woman when he stated that many whites growing up learned to cope with the corporate world while sitting at the dinner table. She denied this but the next week she talked to me unknowingly about her mother inviting a friend to dinner and the discussion centered on a problem we were having in our corporation. The friend did not work for our corporation but he could talk about the problem because of prior experience. Her brothers who are both executives in major corporations were also present. There are not many Blacks in major corporations who can talk about this kind of experience. This is a hidden qualification that most Blacks don't possess.

The author found that most whites recognized the differences in culture between blacks and whites and rather than accept it, they attempted to change it. Many Blacks accepted this and were not prepared for the cultural shock

as evinced by their high turnover rate. There were many other Blacks who were able to survive because they became bi-cultural. Sometimes these Blacks, despite attempts to prevent it, help to perpetuate the discriminatory practices that exist in the industry. A high level Black officer and Civil Rights Activist who works in the industry described the corporate attitude toward promoting Blacks as cautious, very cautious, as reflected in the statistics.

"It's a function of inexperience to, and ignorance of, cultural racial and ethnic backgrounds that aren't the norm," he maintains. "It's not necessarily evil. Nobody bothered to take the risk. It's interesting that companies take risk everyday on the business side, yet it's sometimes difficult to get them to take a risk on the people side. This is beginning to change. I'm optimistic about it..." "The history and reputation is a good one, and that hurts Black recruitment at all levels, '"

This statement is very profound and well intentioned. The author would like to demonstrate how well meaning statements can contribute to the perpetuation of racism and discrimination.

By stating that our cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds are not the norms, the Black officer's views can be misinterpreted by the racist who states/feels/believes that Blacks are inferior intellectually, etc. Racists can use these views as a rationale for oppressing Blacks within the organization.

While this author feels that whites do not presume that they are "taking a risk" when they hire/promote other whites, they assume that it is a risk when they hire/promote Blacks. This author does not feel that

this assumption should be made when they are promoting/hiring Blacks; it should be a normal process of conducting business.

In 1968 Congressman Ryan challenged whether the compliance agency, responsible for auditing the insurance industry was able to keep the industry in line. The Social Security Administration felt their role was to get more "minorities" employed and that could not happen if they terminated contracts. Their strategy worked well with regard to the increase in numbers, but vertical integration has been extremely slow and frustrating at the senior management level.

There are some companies within the industry that are affirmative action oriented and their senior managements' intentions are good. However, the author has found, through close examination, that there are units/departments/divisions within these companies in which institutional and personal discrimination is prevalent. One group within a corporation has a distinct policy that states they will provide minimal exposure to the government by keeping affirmative action plans deliberately distorted. This group feels that they can control discrimination internally, without having a plan that would reflect their intentions.

The author disagrees and is supported by the lack of growth of Blacks into meaningful positions in this organization.

In other companies Blacks who are highly qualified, and not deficient in any respect, are denied access to those skills, knowledge, experiences and exposures that will qualify them for future Senior Vice Presidential positions. When these positions become available, the white male who has had access to the experiences denied the Black is said to be "better qualified". While the white male is in effect "better qualified", his being "better qualified" than the Black can be tied into the denial of access of Blacks to the same experiences.

The discriminatory practices in the insurance industry originated in the early days when Blacks were not only denied employment but were also prevented from purchasing insurance, all based on white supremacy. These discriminatory practices have become ingrained in the personnel practices (recruiting, hiring, selection, terminations, promotions) of today's organizations. They are so ingrained that unless you are a victim of the discriminatory practices you don't recognize their existence.

Discrimination prevents many hiring managers/personnel officers (both Black and white) from making rational business decisions with regard to the hiring, promotion terms and conditions of employment of Blacks.

My rationale for making this statement is based on my definition of a "Rational Business Decision":

"A decision based on reasonable inferences such as are ordinarily drawn by ordinary men in light of their experiences in ordinary life."

Oftentimes, hiring decisions do not take into account the fact that Blacks encounter discrimination within social structures such as education, housing and governments.

Much of the discrimination in employment experienced by Blacks in the white American life insurance industry was described in the consultation held by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C. on April 24-26, 1978. None of the presentors stated that the industry was not making overall progress in the employment of Blacks. They did, however, feel that the ability of Blacks to move up into senior level positions had been/is limited because of discriminatory employment practices. The research in this paper leads to the same conclusion.

Recommendations For Blacks In The Industry.

For those Blacks about to embark on a career in the white American life insurance industry and those who are presently in the industry and are having problems coping, I offer the following suggestions:

- . Recognize that discrimination/racism is present and develop strategies to cope. Do not accept it.

- . Recognize that built in white norms reinforce racism and it is more intense the higher you go in the organization.
- . Prepare yourself by developing excellent verbal and written communication skills.
- . Learn to think cognitively but do not loose your mother wit.
- . Develop a "survival kit" that consist of:
 - The Prince by Machiavelle
 - Power by Kurda
 - The Bible/Koran or some inspirational book or similar books dealing with developing coping skills.
- . Find a mentor and a sponsor; then develop a support system in the workplace and in the community.
- . Work constantly to strengthen the following personality traits
 - .dependability
 - .initiative
 - .ambition

Recommendations for White and Black Managers.

- . Educate or reeducate yourself about the Black culture.
- . Recognize the differences and integrate them into the workforce. Assimilation will not work. Most Blacks

when they reach the level that will qualify them for higher level jobs are bi-cultural.

- . Recognize that discrimination/racism does exist and identify it so that strategies can be developed to eliminate it. Do not ignore it.
- . Volunteer as mentors, coaches or sponsors for Blacks in the workforce.
- . Treat Blacks as individuals; do not force them to bear the burden for their race.

Recommendations For Further Study.

This study was descriptive ex-post facto in nature. A myriad of historical data was analyzed and presented in great detail. In future studies it is recommended that researchers focus on a specific topic developing both a quantitative and qualitative understanding of the event.

The more sophisticated study with the degree of research required would require open access to the historical records of all of the major white American life insurance companies and require an inordinate amount of work on the part of the compliance agencies. With this in mind the author decided to take the most efficient and effective approach at his disposal. It was also intended that this study would allow other researchers to more easily identify the areas that need further study, particularly other doctoral candidates and life insurance industry researchers.

This dissertation has served to highlight a number of questions and tasks that would need to be addressed in future studies. They are:

1. Is racial discrimination the primary form of discrimination that has affected the movement of Blacks into senior level positions or has economic discrimination (what the economist term a rational business decision) been the primary form?
2. To what degree has collusion on the part of Blacks hindered their movement into senior level positions?
3. What roll has the industry associations played in discriminating against Blacks in the white American life insurance industry (licensing, appointments to committees, etc.)?

This list of recommendations for further study does not attempt to be exhaustive and all encompassing. The author hopes that this study will serve as a basis for further study focusing on the progress of Blacks who are now in the industry.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 1
Employment in the Insurance Industry by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category,
United States, 1966

Occupational category	All employees			Male			Female		
	Total	Black	Percent black	Total	Black	Percent black	Total	Black	Percent black
Officials & managers	91,044	1,346	1.5	84,324	1,130	1.3	6,720	216	3.2
Professionals	82,995	401	0.5	77,076	327	0.4	5,919	74	1.3
Technicians	34,430	344	1.0	28,182	208	0.8	8,248	136	1.6
Salesworkers	178,621	5,420	3.0	172,904	3,924	2.3	5,717	1,498	26.2
Office & clerical	379,679	13,730	3.6	48,686	2,053	4.2	330,993	11,677	3.5
Total white collar	766,769	21,241	2.8	409,172	7,642	1.9	357,597	13,599	3.8
Craftworkers	3,017	129	4.3	2,878	126	4.7	339	3	0.9
Operatives, laborers, & service workers	17,471	4,415	25.3	10,450	2,954	28.3	7,021	1,461	20.8
Total blue collar	20,488	4,544	22.2	13,128	3,080	23.5	7,360	1,464	19.9
TOTAL	787,257	25,785	3.3	442,300	10,722	2.5	384,957	15,063	4.1

Source: EEOC, *Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1966*, Report No. 1 (Washington: EEOC, 1968), Part II.

TABLE 2

Employment in the Insurance Industry by Race and Occupational Category, Selected SMSAs, 1966

SMSA	All employees			White collar			Craftsmen			Blue collar except craftsmen		
	Total	Black	Percent black	Total	Black	Percent black	Total	Black	Percent black	Total	Black	Percent black
Boston, Mass.	24,733	577	2.3	23,868	565	2.4	233	—	—	632	12	1.9
Detroit, Mich.	10,207	473	4.6	10,023	447	4.5	17	—	—	167	26	15.6
Indianapolis, Ind.	8,347	197	2.4	8,122	97	1.2	24	2	1.3	201	98	48.8
Sum of 6 Pa. SMSAs*	4,369	26	0.6	4,321	25	0.6	2	—	—	46	1	2.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	19,394	720	3.7	18,634	473	2.5	78	11	14.1	682	236	34.6
Pittsburgh, Pa.	4,656	143	3.1	4,324	57	1.3	3	—	—	329	86	26.1
St. Louis, Mo.	6,042	212	3.5	5,944	177	3.0	16	3	18.8	82	32	39.0

* Erie, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Reading, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre.

Source: Press releases of end data compiled by EEOC, as reported in Linda Pickthorne Fletcher, *The Negro in the Insurance Industry*, Report No. 11 in *The Racial Policies of American Industry series*, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 1970, p. 47.

TABLE 3
Employment Structure in the Insurance Industry, 1970-75
 (Percent)

Occupational categories	Insurance carriers (SIC 63)				Insurance agents & brokers (SIC 64)			
	1970	1972	1974	1975	1970	1972	1974	1975
Officials & managers	11.8	12.4	13.6	13.9	10.7	11.3	11.6	15.7
Professionals	11.5	12.8	12.9	13.6	21.6	19.4	20.4	26.9
Technicals	6.0	6.2	7.6	8.3	5.6	8.4	7.6	8.1
Sales	15.0	14.4	14.3	12.7	5.4	4.8	6.6	7.7
Subtotal	44.3	45.9	48.5	48.6	43.3	44.0	46.2	58.4
Clericals	51.8	50.7	48.6	48.2	54.4	54.2	50.9	56.9
Crafts	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.7
Operatives	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.2
Laborers	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	—	—
Total blue collar	1.7	1.2	1.2	1.6	0.8	0.8	1.3	2.0
Service workers	2.2	2.2	1.7	1.6	1.4	0.9	1.6	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 4

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Atlanta, Ga., SMSA 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Female		Total		Hispanic		Oriental		Total		American Indian	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Officials & mgm.	358	81.6	16.5	2.0	1.4	0.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professionals	359	78.3	15.0	5.6	4.5	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Technicians	109	91.7	44.0	7.3	—	7.3	0.9	—	—	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sales	54	88.1	11.1	—	—	—	1.9	—	—	—	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	1,390	77.7	70.1	21.4	1.6	19.8	0.3	—	0.6	—	0.3	—	0.8	0.1	—	—	0.1
Total white																	
collar	2,270	84.5	50.3	14.6	1.9	12.7	0.4	0.1	0.4	—	0.3	—	0.4	—	—	—	—
Crafts	56	91.1	7.1	7.1	7.1	—	1.8	1.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	44	65.9	20.5	34.1	29.5	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	10	60.0	—	40.0	30.0	10.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total blue collar	100	80.0	13.0	19.0	17.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	2,380	84.2	48.5	14.2	2.8	12.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	—	0.3	—	—	—	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 6
Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Boston, Mass., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Total	Black		Female	Hispanic		Total	Oriental		Total	American Indian	
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	131	100.0	90.8	9.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professionals	232	98.7	76.7	22.0	0.4	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Technicians	167	95.8	40.1	55.7	1.8	—	—	0.6	0.8	1.8	0.6	1.2	—	—	—
Sales	64	100.0	87.0	13.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	552	94.2	12.5	81.7	0.7	4.7	0.2	—	0.2	0.2	—	0.2	—	—	—
Total white	1,136	96.3	42.3	54.0	0.7	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	—	—	—
Crafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	1	100.0	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total blue collar	1	100.0	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	1,137	96.3	42.2	54.1	0.7	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	—	—	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 6

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Chicago, Ill., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Female		Total		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	625	97.1	84.5	12.6	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	—	—	1.1	0.3	0.8	—
Professionals	760	93.2	77.9	15.3	3.9	1.4	0.7	0.7	0.7	—	—	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.1
Technicians	293	92.2	67.9	24.2	3.4	2.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	—	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.3	—
Sales	248	96.0	81.0	14.9	0.8	1.6	1.6	0.8	0.8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	1,500	81.0	7.2	73.8	2.3	12.9	2.3	0.1	2.1	1.5	1.4	—	—	—	—
Total white															
collar	3,426	88.7	47.5	41.2	2.4	8.4	1.3	0.3	1.1	1.1	0.9	—	—	—	—
Crafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	249	100.0	2.4	97.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	34	88.2	61.8	26.5	2.9	8.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total blue															
collar	249	100.0	2.4	97.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all															
occupations	3,709	89.4	44.6	44.8	8.3	6.0	1.2	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.8	—	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 7

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Dallas-Ft. Worth SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Total	Black		Total	Hispanic		Total	Oriental		Total	American Indian	
		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	196	83.2	15.3	—	—	—	0.5	0.5	—	0.5	0.5	—	0.5	—	0.5
Professionals	307	97.4	25.4	1.3	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.0	—	0.3	0.3	—	—	—	—
Technicians	34	100.0	17.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sales	51	100.0	94.1	5.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	717	90.0	82.7	5.9	0.4	5.4	3.3	0.4	2.9	—	—	—	0.8	—	0.8
Total white collar	1,305	93.6	54.4	3.5	0.4	3.1	2.1	0.5	1.6	0.2	0.2	—	0.5	0.1	0.5
Crafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	1	—	—	100.0	—	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total blue collar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	1,306	93.6	54.4	3.6	0.4	3.2	2.1	0.5	1.6	0.2	0.2	—	0.5	0.1	0.5

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 8

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Detroit, Mich., SMSA, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanics		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	107	98.1	90.7	0.9	0.9	—	0.9	—	—	—	—
Professionals	179	89.4	69.3	20.1	10.1	1.7	0.6	—	—	—	—
Technicians	76	98.7	75.0	23.7	—	—	1.3	—	—	—	—
Sales	69	98.6	82.6	15.9	1.4	1.4	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	486	89.7	7.6	82.1	8.4	6.8	1.6	0.2	—	0.2	—
Total white collar	917	92.0	40.6	51.5	6.7	4.0	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.1	—
Crafts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	230	83.5	90.0	3.5	4.3	0.4	1.3	1.3	—	0.9	—
Total blue collar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	1,147	92.3	50.5	41.8	6.2	2.9	3.3	1.2	0.6	0.3	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 9

**Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Hartford, Conn., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category**

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Officials & mgrs.	44	100.0	6.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professionals	148	99.3	4.1	0.7	0.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Technicians	27	92.6	14.3	3.7	3.7	—	3.7	—	—	—	—
Sales	23	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	238	89.8	87.3	7.2	6.4	—	3.0	—	—	—	—
Total white											
collar	478	84.4	48.5	4.0	3.3	1.7	1.7	—	—	—	—
Crafts	31	80.3	45.2	6.5	3.2	—	—	—	—	3.2	—
Operatives	5	80.0	60.0	20.0	20.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	11	90.9	—	—	—	9.1	9.1	—	—	—	—
Total blue											
collar	36	88.9	41.7	8.3	5.6	—	—	—	—	2.8	—
Total all											
occupations	525	93.9	49.0	4.2	3.4	1.7	1.5	—	—	0.2	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 10

**Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Houston, Tex., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category**

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Total	Female
Officials & mgrs.	148	98.3	91.9	7.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professionals	316	95.3	79.4	15.8	3.5	3.2	0.3	—	—	0.6	0.8
Technicians	126	93.7	57.9	35.7	1.6	1.6	—	—	—	—	—
Sales	70	97.1	94.3	2.9	1.4	1.4	—	—	—	—	—
Clerical	665	86.6	4.2	82.4	10.4	1.8	8.6	2.7	0.2	0.3	0.3
Total white											
collar	1,325	91.3	41.8	49.5	6.3	1.9	4.4	2.1	0.5	0.3	0.2
Crafts	6	50.0	33.3	16.7	33.3	33.3	—	16.7	16.7	—	—
Operatives	3	33.3	33.3	—	66.7	66.7	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	27	92.6	48.1	44.4	3.7	—	3.7	3.7	—	—	—
Total blue											
collar	9	44.4	33.1	11.1	44.1	44.4	—	11.1	—	—	—
Total all											
occupations	1,361	91.0	41.9	49.2	6.5	2.1	4.3	2.2	0.4	0.3	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 11

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	294	91.2	78.9	12.2	2.0	0.7	1.4	3.4	0.7	2.7	1.0
Professionals	583	90.6	73.6	17.0	3.6	2.2	1.4	2.4	1.9	0.5	1.8
Technicians	181	85.1	42.5	42.5	7.7	2.2	5.5	3.3	1.7	1.7	2.2
Sales	162	97.5	90.1	7.4	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.2	0	—	—
Clerical	966	69.0	4.6	64.5	10.9	1.1	9.7	12.5	0.3	12.2	6.6
Total white collar	2,186	81.2	42.5	38.7	6.8	1.4	5.4	7.0	1.0	6.0	3.7
Crafts	5	—	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	1	—	—	—	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	61	85.2	50.8	34.4	6.6	6.6	—	3.3	3.3	—	4.9
Total blue collar	6	66.7	66.7	—	16.7	16.7	—	16.7	16.7	—	—
Total all occupations	2,253	81.3	42.7	38.5	6.8	1.6	5.2	6.9	1.1	5.9	3.6
										0.2	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 13

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), San Francisco-Oakland SMSA, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	274	93.8	78.8	15.0	1.5	0.7	0.7	3.3	0.4	2.9	—
Professionals	389	92.0	70.2	21.9	3.1	1.3	1.3	3.3	1.5	1.8	—
Technicians	124	87.1	54.0	33.1	4.0	2.4	2.4	4.8	3.2	1.6	—
Sales	137	94.2	84.7	9.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	3.6	3.6	—	—
Clerical	733	70.8	5.5	65.3	8.5	6.7	6.7	12.6	2.3	10.2	1.0
Total white											
collar	1,657	82.7	43.0	39.8	5.1	3.6	4.2	7.5	2.0	5.6	0.4
Crafts	120	73.2	64.2	9.2	10.0	0.8	12.5	1.7	1.7	—	2.5
Operatives	106	54.7	35.8	18.9	37.7	9.4	7.5	—	—	—	—
Laborers	3	33.3	33.3	—	33.3	—	33.3	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	26	80.8	42.3	38.5	11.5	3.8	7.7	3.8	—	—	—
Total blue											
collar	229	64.2	50.7	13.5	23.1	4.8	10.5	0.9	0.9	—	1.3
Total all occupations	1,912	80.5	43.9	36.6	7.3	3.8	5.0	6.6	1.8	4.8	0.5
											0.4

Source: EEOC

TABLE 14

**Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), Boston, Mass., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category**

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian			
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	4,253	98.6	81.5	17.1	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.1	—	0.1	0.1	—
Professionals	5,103	96.7	65.3	31.4	2.2	1.3	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.3	—
Technicians	3,985	92.8	30.8	62.0	5.3	1.4	3.9	1.1	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.2	—
Sales	1,881	97.2	88.8	8.3	2.0	1.8	0.2	0.5	0.5	—	0.3	0.3	—
Clerical	13,088	87.1	8.1	79.6	9.4	1.0	8.4	1.8	0.2	1.7	1.1	0.1	0.1
Total white collar	28,310	92.3	38.0	54.3	5.8	1.1	4.7	1.1	0.2	0.9	0.8	0.2	—
Crafts	209	97.6	94.3	3.3	1.9	1.9	—	0.5	0.5	—	—	—	—
Operatives	107	86.9	86.0	0.9	9.3	9.3	—	3.7	3.7	—	—	—	—
Laborers	156	91.7	44.2	47.4	8.3	1.3	7.1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	550	84.9	40.4	44.5	10.0	6.2	3.8	4.5	2.7	1.8	0.5	0.2	—
Total blue collar	472	93.2	75.8	17.4	5.7	3.4	2.3	1.1	1.1	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	28,310	92.3	38.0	54.3	5.8	1.1	4.7	1.1	0.2	0.9	0.8	0.2	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 15

**Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), Detroit, Mich., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category**

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian				
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male			
Officials & mgrs.	2,283	92.0	73.6	18.4	7.1	3.5	3.6	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1
Professionals	2,827	90.3	69.7	20.6	8.1	3.9	4.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1
Technicians	1,517	83.3	33.4	49.9	15.0	3.6	11.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.1
Sales	2,664	89.5	82.4	7.1	9.2	8.4	0.8	0.5	0.5	—	0.6	0.6	—	—
Clerical	9,200	75.3	5.0	70.3	22.9	1.3	21.6	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.3
Total white														
collar	18,491	82.4	36.8	45.5	16.1	3.2	12.9	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3
Crafts	131	87.8	16.8	71.0	12.2	1.5	10.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	45	95.6	64.4	31.1	4.4	4.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	172	70.9	32.0	39.0	27.3	18.0	9.3	—	—	—	1.7	0.6	1.2	—
Total blue collar	176	89.8	29.0	60.8	10.2	2.3	8.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	18,839	82.3	36.7	45.6	16.1	3.3	12.8	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3
patrons													0.1	0.2

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 17

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), Indianapolis, Ind., SMSA, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Officials & mgrs.	1,663	97.2	81.4	15.9	2.1	0.9	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2
Professionals	1,168	96.0	74.4	21.6	3.2	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.4
Technicians	1,111	94.3	58.9	35.5	5.5	1.4	4.1	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
Sales	913	96.2	82.9	13.3	3.7	2.6	1.2	0.1	—	0.1	—
Clerical	8,021	90.1	4.4	85.7	9.1	0.5	8.6	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total white											
collar	10,876	92.8	35.9	56.9	6.6	1.0	5.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3
Crafts	27	85.2	85.2	—	14.8	11.1	3.7	—	—	—	—
Operatives	17	88.2	58.8	29.4	11.8	11.8	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	14	85.7	85.7	—	7.1	7.1	—	7.1	—	—	—
Svc. workers	240	58.8	32.1	26.7	40.4	23.3	—	—	—	—	—
Total blue collar	58	86.2	77.6	8.6	12.1	10.3	1.7	1.7	—	—	—
Total all occupations	11,174	92.0	36.0	56.0	7.3	1.6	5.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3
											0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 16

**Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), Philadelphia, Pa., SMSA, 1975,
by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category**

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	6,436	95.3	79.7	15.6	3.8	1.8	2.1	0.3	0.2	—	0.1
Professionals	5,681	95.1	69.2	25.9	4.0	2.0	2.0	0.4	0.2	—	0.2
Technicians	2,656	92.2	52.9	39.3	6.2	3.1	3.1	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.1
Sales	3,300	90.6	85.4	5.3	8.7	7.5	1.2	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
Clerical	17,164	80.5	7.2	73.3	17.8	1.6	16.2	0.7	0.1	0.6	—
Total white											
collar	35,237	87.4	41.2	46.2	11.3	2.4	8.9	0.5	0.2	0.4	—
Crafts	2,786	81.6	7.0	74.6	12.6	1.7	10.9	3.3	0.3	2.2	0.2
Operatives	284	51.9	47.0	4.9	24.6	18.6	6.1	3.4	2.7	20.1	12.9
Laborers	57	82.5	54.4	28.1	14.0	7.0	7.0	3.5	3.5	—	—
Svc. workers	765	57.0	23.8	33.2	42.1	30.7	11.4	0.8	0.8	—	—
Total blue											
collar	3,107	79.1	11.3	67.8	13.7	3.3	10.4	3.3	0.5	2.8	0.2
Total all											
occu- pations	39,109	86.1	38.5	47.6	12.1	3.0	9.1	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 19

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), Pittsburgh, Pa., SMSA, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	941	97.7	84.1	13.6	1.9	1.5	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Professionals	1,012	94.7	76.7	18.0	5.0	3.3	1.8	—	—	0.1	0.1
Technicians	373	93.3	55.5	37.8	5.4	2.7	2.7	0.8	0.5	—	—
Sales	1,659	97.5	94.2	3.3	2.4	2.2	0.2	0.1	—	—	—
Clerical	2,788	90.8	4.2	86.6	8.7	0.6	8.1	0.3	0.2	—	—
Total white											
collar	6,753	94.1	51.1	43.0	5.5	1.6	3.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	—
Crafts	2	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	2	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laborers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	371	71.2	42.3	28.8	28.8	22.8	6.2	—	—	—	—
Total blue collar											
collar	4	100.0	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total all occupations	7,128	92.9	50.7	42.2	6.7	2.7	4.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	—

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 21

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents & Brokers (SIC 64), United States, 1970, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	6,945	98.1	91.6	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Professionals	14,048	96.7	89.6	2.0	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1
Technicians	3,621	94.1	77.1	4.2	3.8	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.1
Sales	3,547	94.9	90.7	4.2	3.8	0.6	0.6	—	0.5	—	—
Clerical	35,394	87.7	10.2	77.5	1.0	7.1	3.0	2.6	1.0	0.9	0.2
Total white											
collar	63,555	91.6	45.0	48.6	1.4	4.1	2.0	1.5	0.7	0.5	0.1
Crafts	242	95.0	67.4	27.7	2.9	—	2.1	0.5	—	—	—
Operatives	242	83.5	71.1	12.4	11.6	2.4	1.7	1.3	0.4	—	0.4
Laborers	70	81.4	52.8	28.6	18.6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	946	63.3	37.4	25.9	18.9	13.1	2.9	1.0	1.8	—	—
Total blue collar											
collar	554	88.3	67.1	21.1	8.7	1.0	1.6	0.9	0.7	—	0.2
Total all occupations	65,055	91.2	45.1	46.1	1.8	4.2	2.0	0.5	1.5	0.6	0.1

TABLE 22

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), United States, 1972, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	5,250	98.2	89.9	8.3	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1
Professionals	9,000	95.5	85.7	9.9	2.5	1.2	1.0	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.2
Technicians	3,902	94.1	70.9	23.2	3.4	1.4	1.0	0.4	1.0	0.4	—
Sales	2,229	97.3	90.0	7.0	1.4	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.1	—
Clerical	25,085	87.4	10.2	77.2	7.9	3.4	0.4	3.0	1.2	1.0	0.1
Total white											
collar	45,226	91.3	43.5	47.9	5.3	2.3	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.3	0.1
Crafts	96	91.7	74.0	14.7	8.3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Operatives	287	84.7	63.1	21.6	12.9	1.7	1.7	—	0.3	0.3	—
Laborers	7	14.3	14.3	—	85.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
Svc. workers	414	68.1	42.5	25.6	28.0	1.7	1.7	—	2.2	2.2	—
Total blue											
collar	390	85.1	64.9	20.2	13.1	1.3	1.3	—	0.3	0.3	—
Total all											
occu- pations	46,270	91.0	43.7	47.4	5.6	2.3	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.3	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 23

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), United States, 1974, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	5,481	97.9	87.6	10.4	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.4
Professionals	9,622	94.6	78.5	16.1	2.9	2.3	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.7	0.4
Technicians	3,563	93.0	85.2	27.8	4.0	2.6	1.4	1.1	0.5	1.3	0.9
Sales	3,093	97.9	88.6	9.4	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.2
Clerical	24,005	86.2	9.3	76.9	8.9	1.3	7.6	0.4	2.9	1.4	0.2
Total white											
collar	45,764	90.7	42.9	47.8	5.8	1.5	4.3	0.7	1.7	1.0	0.3
Crafts	276	83.0	53.6	29.3	10.5	9.4	1.1	4.3	0.4	0.7	0.4
Operatives	338	68.3	49.7	18.6	25.4	19.5	5.9	4.4	1.2	0.3	0.3
Laborers	5	20.0	20.0	—	60.0	60.0	—	20.0	—	—	—
Svc. workers	740	85.1	61.8	23.4	10.5	7.7	2.8	1.5	0.3	2.6	2.4
Total blue collar											
collar	619	74.5	51.2	23.3	19.1	15.3	3.7	4.5	0.8	0.5	0.3
Total all occupations	47,123	90.4	43.3	47.1	6.0	1.7	4.3	0.7	1.6	1.1	0.4

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 24

Employment Percentages of Insurance Agents and Brokers (SIC 64), United States, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	6,370	97.9	86.0	11.9	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.1
Professionals	10,876	94.1	76.8	17.3	3.7	2.7	1.0	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.1
Technicians	3,292	92.3	50.1	34.2	4.6	2.6	0.9	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.1
Sales	3,100	98.0	90.8	7.2	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.1
Clerical	23,028	85.8	8.2	77.5	9.3	1.3	0.3	3.3	3.0	1.2	0.2
Total white											
collar	46,666	90.6	43.8	46.8	6.0	1.5	0.5	2.2	1.6	1.1	0.1
Crafts	280	83.2	57.9	25.4	7.5	6.8	0.7	6.4	0.7	0.7	1.1
Operatives	507	83.8	21.5	62.3	14.2	10.3	1.6	1.8	0.2	0.2	—
Laborers	6	50.0	50.0	—	33.3	33.3	—	16.7	16.7	—	—
Svc. workers	1,002	87.1	55.6	31.5	9.1	6.0	3.1	1.7	1.2	1.5	0.1
Total blue collar	793	83.4	34.6	48.8	12.0	9.2	2.8	3.5	3.2	0.4	0.4
Total all occupations	48,461	90.4	43.9	46.5	6.1	1.0	4.4	2.2	0.6	1.6	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 25

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), United States, 1970, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male	Total	Male
Officials & mgrs.	84,688	97.1	86.9	10.2	1.9	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Professionals	82,397	96.8	79.2	17.6	1.7	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1
Technicians	43,158	92.4	56.2	36.2	4.6	2.6	1.7	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.1
Sales	107,364	91.9	88.4	3.5	6.0	1.0	1.8	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1
Clerical	371,012	86.0	8.3	77.7	9.8	8.8	3.0	0.4	2.6	1.1	0.1
Total white collar	688,619	90.0	41.9	48.1	7.0	5.2	2.2	0.7	1.5	0.8	0.1
Crafts	4,693	93.2	83.8	9.4	5.4	0.8	1.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Operatives	4,553	78.6	58.7	19.9	16.5	4.0	4.5	2.7	1.8	0.3	0.1
Laborers	2,965	52.8	28.7	24.1	39.5	18.4	7.4	4.2	3.2	0.2	0.1
Svc. workers	16,013	66.1	30.1	36.0	27.4	14.5	5.8	3.6	2.2	0.5	0.2
Total blue collar	12,211	77.9	61.0	16.9	17.8	6.9	4.0	2.4	1.6	0.2	0.1
Total all occupations	716,843	89.2	42.0	47.2	7.6	6.4	2.3	0.8	1.5	0.8	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 28

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), United States, 1972, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational employ- category	Total employ- ment	White		Total	Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	95,443	83.0	13.7	2.2	1.4	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	—
Professionals	99,079	75.5	20.1	2.4	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.1	—
Technicians	48,079	53.4	36.5	5.5	2.0	3.5	1.9	1.0	1.7	0.7	0.1	0.1
Sales	111,476	87.5	3.9	5.9	4.9	1.0	1.9	—	0.4	0.4	0.1	—
Clerical	391,847	84.9	77.1	10.3	1.1	9.2	3.3	0.5	2.8	1.2	—	0.2
Total white collar	745,564	89.2	47.9	7.2	1.8	5.4	2.4	0.8	1.6	0.3	0.1	0.1
Crafts	4,838	89.5	23.8	7.0	5.9	1.1	3.0	2.1	0.9	0.2	0.2	—
Operatives	3,055	76.4	17.3	14.6	11.1	3.5	8.1	6.3	1.8	0.6	—	—
Laborers	1,162	43.3	14.2	21.1	18.8	2.3	34.6	12.1	22.5	0.5	0.3	0.2
Svc. workers	16,878	66.6	34.3	24.8	13.9	10.9	7.8	4.6	3.2	0.6	0.3	0.1
Total blue collar	9,055	79.1	20.3	11.4	9.3	2.1	8.8	4.8	4.0	0.5	0.2	—
Total all occupations	771,497	88.6	47.3	7.7	2.2	5.5	2.6	0.9	1.7	1.0	0.1	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 27

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), United States, 1974, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employ- ment	White		Black		Female		Total		Hispanic		Oriental		Female		Total		American Indian	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	114,929	96.0	80.6	15.4	2.5	1.6	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	—
Professionals	109,428	93.8	70.6	23.2	3.7	2.2	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	—	—
Technicians	64,434	89.6	47.1	42.5	6.4	2.3	4.1	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.7	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sales	121,116	90.0	83.7	6.3	6.5	5.0	1.5	2.7	1.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	—	—
Clerical	410,487	82.7	6.5	76.2	12.3	1.2	11.1	3.3	0.4	2.9	1.6	0.2	1.3	0.2	—	0.2	—	0.2	0.2
Total white																			
collar	820,394	87.6	40.0	47.6	8.4	2.0	6.4	2.5	0.8	1.7	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Crafts	5,265	86.4	63.0	23.5	8.2	6.0	2.2	4.6	4.2	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Operatives	3,893	74.6	52.8	21.9	16.7	13.0	3.8	6.0	4.8	1.2	2.1	1.0	1.1	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2
Laborers	1,478	66.4	47.5	18.9	20.4	17.9	2.5	10.4	8.3	2.0	2.6	2.0	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Svc. workers	14,163	63.0	32.4	30.7	28.3	16.0	12.4	7.9	4.6	3.2	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total blue collar	10,636	79.3	57.1	22.2	13.0	10.2	2.8	5.9	5.0	0.9	1.4	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Total all occupations	845,193	87.1	40.1	47.0	8.8	2.4	6.5	2.6	0.9	1.8	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1

Source: EEOC.

TABLE 28

Employment Percentages in Insurance Companies (SIC 63), United States, 1975, by Race, Sex, and Occupational Category

Occupational category	Total employment	White		Black		Hispanic		Oriental		American Indian	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Officials & mgrs.	117,096	79.8	15.7	2.8	1.7	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.1	—
Professionals	115,108	68.1	25.1	4.1	2.2	1.8	1.3	0.8	0.5	0.1	—
Technicians	70,243	87.2	41.8	45.4	2.8	5.5	2.3	1.0	1.3	0.2	0.1
Sales	107,242	90.1	84.7	5.4	5.6	1.4	2.1	2.0	0.1	0.1	—
Clerical	406,366	81.4	5.9	75.5	1.2	11.6	3.7	0.4	3.3	0.2	0.2
Total white	816,055	86.8	38.7	48.0	2.1	6.9	2.7	0.8	1.9	0.2	0.1
collar	7,953	83.5	39.1	44.4	4.5	7.3	3.4	1.7	1.7	0.2	0.1
Crafts	4,274	77.6	50.3	27.3	10.4	3.2	6.5	5.1	1.4	0.3	0.1
Operatives	1,241	77.0	50.5	26.4	13.3	5.4	3.9	2.8	1.0	—	—
Laborers	13,205	82.3	32.3	30.0	16.1	12.8	8.0	4.6	3.4	0.1	—
Svc. workers	13,468	81.0	43.7	37.3	7.2	5.8	4.4	2.9	1.5	0.2	0.1
Total blue collar	842,728	86.3	38.7	47.6	2.4	7.0	2.8	0.9	1.9	0.2	0.1
Total all occupations											

Source: EEOC

TABLE 29

Number of Years to Attain Proportional Representation, by Occupational Category, Race, and Sex

Occupational category	Annual percentage increase: 1970-75, and 1975 percent representation				Approximate number of years to attain proportional representation			
	White females		Black and other males		Black and other females		White males	
	1975	Annual gain/loss	1975	Annual gain/loss	1975	Annual gain/loss	1975	Annual gain/loss
Officials & mgrs.	15.7	0.9	2.8	0.1	1.5	0.1	21	0.1
Professionals	25.1	1.2	3.9	0.3	2.8	0.3	8	0.3
Technicians	45.4	1.5	4.5	0.2	8.0	0.7	— ²	10
Sales	6.4	0.3	8.3	0.2	1.6	0.1	97	0.1
Clerical	75.5	0.2	1.8	0.05	15.5	0.5	— ²	92

¹ This is a simple arithmetic average. A more accurate method would employ the geometric mean.

² Indicates overrepresentation.

Source: Calculated from Tables 25 and 28.

APPENDIX B

Excerpt from 1943 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Insurance, State of New York**Problems in Harlem**

The Atlantic Charter has made us realize that we owe an obligation of fairness not only to people of other countries but to minority groups in our own. Harlem is the largest and most prosperous colored city in the world and yet there are many problems which are difficult of solution. Colored people do not have equal opportunity in procuring work. In housing, insurance and many other matters they do not receive the consideration which they should.

When the new Motor Vehicle Law went into effect many Negroes found it difficult to secure insurance. One able attorney who is an Assemblyman was inadvertently refused a policy. This was not because of prejudice against colored people but because the companies believed that the risk was greater and they did not wish to assume too large a burden in the colored communities. As soon as the matter was brought to our attention we wrote the companies that there must be no discrimination, called meetings of company officials, and a committee of company representatives was appointed to cooperate with the Department. This discrimination was soon removed and complaints of this nature dropped off to almost nothing. The companies had no desire to be unfair. They simply did not realize the gravity of the situation or their obligations.

There is a more serious and a more permanent problem in Harlem and the other colored neighborhoods of the state. Negroes as a rule earn less than white people and are compelled to buy life insurance and

accident and health protection on the installment basis. This insurance costs more than when it is bought in normal ways. Most of the larger and more responsible companies do not bother to seek colored business. The people in Harlem and other colored communities are served largely by organizations which operate on the fraternal or assessment plan and write life insurance combined with accident and health insurance mainly on colored lives. One of these companies is entirely controlled by Negroes. All of the officers and agents are colored. The other companies are not controlled by Negroes but some of them have colored agents. Because of weekly collections and the expense of operation the cost to policyholders is very high. It would be impossible to form companies of this type under our present laws but there is nothing that we can do about those already in existence excepting to watch them and try to make them better. In California where there was a somewhat similar situation the Insurance Commissioner arbitrarily took over companies of this type and merged them into a new life insurance company. He was sustained by the courts. It is doubtful if any such action would be sustained here or if the Department should attempt it.

On the other hand, it is very clear that something should be done to procure lower insurance cost and better protection for the colored population. Savings bank life insurance has been of help as many colored people have secured protection there. But savings bank life insurance cannot help those with low incomes who can only buy insurance in small amounts and on the weekly plan.

In order to try to find some solution, or at least some program that will be helpful, a little more than a year ago I appointed a committee to study the problem. Elmer A. Carter, who is a member of the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board, was appointed chairman and the committee consisted of leading Negro citizens, members of the Department, and representatives from some of the larger life insurance companies. A number of meetings have been held but as yet no final plan has been decided upon.

Our actuary, together with actuaries of some of the companies, made a study of Negro mortality to determine whether or not the statement commonly made that the experience on Negro lives indicates a substantially higher average death rate is a true one. Some of this experience was secured from companies whose management and policyholders are Negro. The figures from all of the sources substantiate that the mortality is higher than for similar classes of white people. An analysis of claims according to cause of death shows definitely that Negro policyholders are more susceptible to a number of diseases.

The Department and the committee have had under consideration a number of possible steps to help. One of the possibilities is the formation of a new company which will specialize largely in insurance on Negro lives. It was thought that possibly one of the foundations might be interested to help finance a venture of this kind. The management should be composed of eminent colored people and also white people who have the confidence of the community and have shown an interest in matters affecting the Negro race. The formation of a new life company is one of the most difficult projects imaginable but the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company made an offer which would give substantial help. It is willing to turn over to the new company the management and collection of the insurance which it holds in Harlem, which would give the new company an immediate income of substantial proportions and would also enable the staff to secure experience, oversight and training.

It has also been suggested that the four fraternal and assessment companies which now serve the colored people be amalgamated so that there will be less expense and so that better service will be given at lower cost. This would be highly desirable if it could be effected. The difficulty is that it would mean the elimination of a number of officers as well as agents. These personnel problems are always difficult when mergers are effected. It is, however, one of the possibilities which should receive very serious consideration.

Another obvious problem is the law of the State which at present provides that there can be no discrimination between white and colored people in fixing premiums for insurance. Section 209 has several very rigorous provisions which are intended to protect Negroes against unfair discrimination but, as a matter of practice, this law has made it more difficult for colored people to secure the best type of insurance. It is doubtful if the legislature will take any action to modify this law unless the Negro community decides that it is advisable for its own interest that it be done.

In view of the fact that the mortality is definitely higher, the larger insurance companies do not seek colored business. If our companies were permitted to make a reasonable differential based upon the experience, it is possible that Negroes would receive greater benefits than they now do under the present law. At any rate, this question should receive very serious consideration on the part of all those who are sincerely interested in advancing the welfare of our Negro citizens.

FACSIMILE

Circular Letter 64-5, New York Insurance Department
State of New York
Insurance Department
123 William Street
New York 30
February 14, 1964

Henry Root Stern, Jr.
Superintendent of Insurance

TO ALL AUTHORIZED INSURERS:

The laws of New York State clearly enunciate a firm and fixed public policy against ethnic and religious discrimination. Section 40(10) of the Insurance Law implements this public policy by barring discrimination based on race, color, creed or national origin in the writing or rating of insurance policies or in any other manner whatever.

The Department has been gratified by the cooperation it has received from licensed insurers in the enforcement of this law and the public policy it represents.

The Department's attention, however, has been directed to certain forms and reports furnished to some licensed insurers in which there may be set forth information as to the race or nationality of an insurance applicant, policyholder or claimant, or of the occupants of insured premises, etc. Such forms, which are of the kind not required to be submitted to the Insurance Department for approval prior to use, include agents' confidential reports, medical reports, adjusters' reports and inspection or credit reports.

The inclusion of inquiries or information as to race, color, creed or national origin in any form used by a licensed insurer, or the making of such inquiries on its behalf, clearly suggest possible or likely violation of both Section 40(10) and the firmly established policy of New York State. Accordingly, such practices shall be discontinued. Nor should such insurers accept reports from an independent inspection or credit agency or other sources which contain such inquiries or information.

I am confident that you will continue to cooperate with this Department in effectuating the wholesome purposes of New York's public policy against discrimination. Please acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

Very truly yours,
[signed]
Superintendent of Insurance

Circular Letter 64-5

Appendix C

FACSIMILE

State of New York
Insurance Department
2 World Trade Center
New York 10047

Benjamin R. Schenck
Superintendent of Insurance

NEW YORK STATE INSURANCE DEPARTMENT
*OPINION AND REPORT PURSUANT TO SECTION 278 OF THE
INSURANCE LAW*

In the Matter of Alleged Violations of Article IX-D of the Insurance Law by All Insurers Domiciled or Licensed to do Business in This State

On November 18, 1974 every insurer domiciled or licensed to do business in the State of New York was ordered to show cause why the Superintendent of Insurance should not: (1) prepare a report pursuant to Section 278 of the Insurance Law concluding that any refusal to issue, cancel or decline to renew a policy of insurance because of the sex of the applicant or policyholder constitutes an unfair trade practice; and (2) promulgate a regulation prohibiting such practices.¹ The public hearing required by Section 278 of the Insurance Law² was held in New York on December 16, 1974. At the hearing, Department witnesses testifying in support of the proposed regulation gave various examples of underwriting and marketing distinctions based on sex. (E.g., T.R. 7-23, 23-28, 29-42, 42-46.) In addition, the New York State Consumer Protection Board appeared in support of the proposed report and regulation (T.R. 75-83). Industry representatives, including various trade associations, also testified and submitted written statements.³ While no one opposed the proposed report and regulation, clarification was requested by several witnesses, including the Consumer Protection Board, regarding the scope and effective date of the prohibition and the procedural steps for its implementation.

¹ The show cause citation was served upon each insurer by registered mail as required by Section 22 of the New York Insurance Law.

² All future section references are to the New York Insurance Law unless otherwise noted.

³ E.g., Mr. Thomas Gillooly testified on behalf of the Health Insurance Association of America, the American Life Insurance Association and the Association of New York State Life Insurance Companies. (T.R. 64-71.)

DECISION

The hearing record clearly demonstrates that insurance companies have engaged in underwriting practices that make numerous distinctions based on the sex of the applicant or policyholder. Examples of the more common distinctions that were found to exist are as follows:

- offering insurance policies with waiting periods to females while at the same time offering policies to males that either contain shorter waiting periods or no waiting period;
- offering males higher benefit levels than are offered to females;
- offering policies to males with a definition of disability that is more favorable than the disability definition set forth in the policies that are offered to females;
- offering coverage to males in certain occupations while denying coverage or offering more limited coverage to females in the same occupation categories;
- offering coverage to males gainfully employed at home while denying or offering reduced coverage to females similarly employed;
- affording males a more favorable issue age than is offered to female applicants;
- requiring female applicants to submit to a medical examination while not requiring males to submit to such an examination;
- denying females many of the insurance options that are available to males; and
- denying females waiver of premium provisions that are available to males or offering such provisions to females only for policy limits that are lower than those available to males.

More often than not, such underwriting distinctions emanate from unjustified subjective views of the role of women in our society. In addition, underwriting rules are not rules in the traditional sense. Instead, they are rough guidelines, which at best may be applied in a very haphazard and arbitrary fashion by insurance company underwriting and sales personnel.

Because these "guidelines" based on sex are not derived from objective data and are subject to uneven and discriminatory application, all underwriting distinctions based on sex are hereby found to constitute an unfair trade practice under Article IX-D of the Insurance Law. In addition, the attached regulations will be promulgated in order to place all insurers on notice that future use of such "guidelines" will result in appropriate disciplinary proceedings.

Under the regulations no underwriting distinction based on sex will be permitted. Instead, all insurers will be required to make available to females⁴ any coverages that it makes available to males.⁵ Only rate differentials will be permitted and then only when supported by objective and valid statistical data. This approach permits equitable classifications when such classifications are based on objective data as opposed to subjective attitudes. At the same time, it outlaws all distinctions in the area where the creation of classifications can be the most arbitrary and invidious—that is in the myriad of insurance acceptance or rejection decisions where prejudice, stereotyped attitudes and uneven enforcement are most likely to exist.

Questions have arisen as to whether the prohibition will be prospective or retroactive in its application and the effective date of the prohibition. For a number of reasons—both legal⁶ and practical⁷—the prohibition will be applied prospectively. With respect to an

⁴ This does not mean that insurers cannot sell coverages that provide different but actuarially equivalent benefit levels for males and females when a customer requires such coverage to avoid employment discrimination problems.

⁵ The proposed regulation does not mandate maternity benefits. While this issue is related to sex discrimination, it is essentially a different one: Do minimum health insurance requirements require the inclusion of maternity benefit insurance in basic health insurance contracts? Like the question of whether insurance coverage should be mandated for psychiatric care or alcoholism, a decision to mandate maternity benefits requires a balancing of the cost of providing such coverage and the importance and value of the social policy objective that the mandated coverage would realize. It also requires a determination of who should bear the cost of such insurance. For example, should experience-rated policyholders be exempt from mandated minimum coverage requirements? Or should all policyholders, irrespective of the nature of their contract, be required to have such coverage? Or should the cost of this care be shouldered by the entire community through the tax base? Such questions should be answered in proceedings specifically designed for this purpose, i.e., proceedings regarding proposed amendments to the Insurance Department's Regulation No. 62—the Department's regulation that sets forth minimum health insurance coverage requirements.

⁶ The present proceeding was undertaken pursuant to Section 278 of Article IX-D of the Insurance Law. Section 278 of Article IX-D expressly provides that any practice not expressly defined as an unfair trade practice under the Insurance Law cannot be viewed as an unfair trade practice *until* the Department makes such a determination *after* a hearing and files a report setting forth such findings with the Attorney General. In addition, the section permits remedial action only if the practice continues after the filing of the report. Furthermore, retroactive application would require impairment of existing contracts. While this can be accomplished pursuant to a valid exercise of the police power, the legislature has authorized use of the police power only in the manner set forth in Article IX-D.

⁷ Prospective application will prevent the sale of discriminatory policy forms to the extent they exist. It also assures availability of non-discriminatory coverage by prohibiting discriminatory underwriting practices. This will enable most of those adversely affected to obtain the more expansive coverage if they wish to do so. It has been suggested that some individuals may not be able to obtain upgraded coverage now because they are ill or uninsurable and, therefore, these individuals should be treated as if they had purchased upgraded coverage at the time they were insurable. While there is some merit to this argument, it must be balanced against other considerations. Even if the Department had the legal power to compel the issuance of new policies and this is doubtful, it would be extremely difficult to determine who would be entitled to such relief. For example, how could one be sure that an individual would have obtained the more generous coverage in the past had it been available—particularly when the broadened coverage would cost more? This question becomes even more difficult to answer when an individual asserts that coverage was denied in the past for discriminatory reasons or when it is asserted that coverage was not even applied for because the applicant knew or suspected that discriminatory underwriting practices would preclude its availability. These difficulties, coupled with the fact that the now prohibited underwriting practices were not previously illegal, supports the conclusion that a prospective application of the Department's prohibition will effectively and fairly effectuate Department policy.

effective date, insurance company representatives requested that they be afforded sufficient time to: (i) inform underwriting and sales personnel of the Department's prohibition; (ii) obtain Department approval for rates for females for all coverages the insurer sells; and (iii) distribute approved rates to marketing personnel. This request has merit. An orderly implementation can be realized by June 1, 1975. To facilitate this end, the Department's Health Insurance Bureau has made special arrangements for the orderly and prompt processing of rate filings.

It should be emphasized that this report and approved regulation represent a first step in the elimination of sex discrimination. A question still remains regarding the propriety of different rates for males and females for various types of insurance. This is particularly so for health and disability insurance. Accordingly, the Department is now in the process of an in-depth review of available statistical data and the development of up-dated data from private and government sources with respect to accident and health insurance. This study should be completed by the end of this year. In the interim, the Department will continue to use existing statistics in its evaluation of health and disability rate filings for females. However, rates approved on this basis will be limited to a one-year period so that these rates can be reevaluated once the Department's study is completed.

CONCLUSION

Based on review of the entire record, any refusal to issue any policy of insurance or the cancellation or refusal to renew such policy because of the sex of the applicant or policyholder after June 1, 1975 constitutes an unfair trade practice under Article IX-D of the Insurance Law. Accordingly, this opinion will be filed with the Attorney General of the State of New York and the attached regulation is promulgated to take effect on June 1, 1975.

Dated: January 27, 1975, New York, New York

/s/ JOHN G. DAY

Deputy Superintendent

Dated: January 28, 1975, New York, New York

Approved by:

/s/ BENJAMIN R. SCHENCK

Superintendent of Insurance

APPENDIX C

To be answered by Affirmative Action Officers Only

Demographic Survey

I am seeking this information to enable me to get a picture of the kinds of institutions I am gathering data on. Please do not give the name of your company.

1. My company is () is not () a manufacturing company.
2. My company is () is not () a financial institution.
3. We hired our first Black:

() 1-5 years ago

() 10-15 years ago

() 20+ years ago

() 5-10 years ago

() 15-20 years ago

()
4. Blacks have been managers/officers for:

() 1-5 years

() 10-15 years

() more than 20 years

() 5-10 years

() 15-20 years.
5. Did any changes take place in the work force once Blacks were introduced?

() yes

() no

If yes, describe them.

6. What is the title of the highest level Black in your organization?

7. Is there a high turnover rate amongst Blacks in your organization when compared to Whites?

() yes () no

8. If yes, have you been able to ascertain why?

() yes () no

9. If yes, please explain.

10. Describe any attitudinal/behavior changes in Whites that occurred when you promoted/hired your first Black officer/manager.

11. Describe any attitudinal/behavior changes in Blacks in your work force that are perceived to be different from company norms.

I am presently working on my PhD at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and would appreciate your answering these questions as candidly as possible. Please do not write your name or the company's name anywhere on the form.

Please check the brackets that best identify you.

1. I am () am not () a Black employee.
2. I do () do not () supervise one or more Black employees.
3. I have worked for my company for ____ years.
4. I am () am not () an officer/manager in the company.
5. My career expectations have () have not () been met in this company.
6. I have stayed here because the company is:
 - () progressive () has good benefits
 - () people oriented () other _____
 - () pays well _____
 - _____
 - _____
7. The company has an Affirmative Action Program that is:
 - () excellent () fair
 - () good () poor
8. I feel that Blacks:
 - () can progress to their fullest potential
 - () cannot progress to their fullest potential
 - () are hired to meet government quotas
9. How long do you feel it will be before your company has its first Black senior officer?

- () 1-5 years () 10-15 years
() 5-10 years () more than 15 years
10. Were it not for discrimination, many Blacks would be executives in my company today.
- () strongly agree () disagree
() agree () strongly disagree
11. The company has done all it can to relieve the affects of past discrimination.
- () strongly agree () disagree
() agree () strongly agree
12. How many Blacks are there in your company who you feel are ready for officer level/manager positions?
- () 0 () more than 5
() 1-5
13. The company's training programs:
- () meets the needs of Blacks who want to move up.
() does not meet the needs of Blacks who want to move up.
() is beginning to address the needs of Blacks who want to move up.
14. If discrimination exists in the company, it's because:
- () it's institutional
() its intentional
() it's an individual's preference.
15. What do you feel can be done to improve the status of Blacks in your company (no more than 4 paragraphs)?

APPENDIX D

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

EDMUND G. BROWN JR., Governor

DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE

600 SOUTH COMMONWEALTH AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90005

(213) 736-2551

May 28, 1981

James R. Tyler
35 Applewood Road
Bloomfield, CT 06002

Dear Mr. Tyler:

I regret that I am unable to find any studies made by our department which cover the subject matter. I would assume the best sources would be in behavioral psychology journals or law review publications such as "Race Relations Reporter."

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robert C. Quinn".
ROBERT C. QUINN
Insurance Commissioner

RCQ/mp

NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION
2400 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60616
312/842-5125



November 14, 1979

Mr. James Tyler
Connecticut General Life Insurance Co.
900 Cottage Grove
Hartford, Connecticut 06152

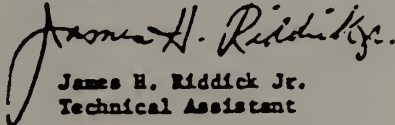
Dear Mr. Tyler:
Most of the information enclosed will give background on the
NIA and its members.

Since your research will be of broader scope, I have listed
below a few sources that will have unlimited information for
your utilization.

The NIA archives hold possible information however, you must
visit us in Chicago to research these proceedings.

I hope I have been of some assistance to you. Please mail us
a copy of your research when completed.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "James H. Riddick Jr." in a cursive style.

James H. Riddick Jr.
Technical Assistant

William Trent, Director of Personnel for Time Inc., Manhattan,
New York

Dr. Winfred O. Bryson, President, Advance Federal Savings &
Loan Association, 1405 East Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore, Md.
21239, (301) 323-9570

All State Insurance Commissioners where Black companies are head-
quartered.

The book by M.S. Stuart titled Economic Detours: A History of In-
surance in the Lives of American Negroes 1865-1940.

HARRY HUGHES
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MARYLAND

EDWARD J. BIRNANE JR.
INSURANCE COMMISSIONER



JOHN J. CORBLEY
SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF LICENSING AND REGULATION
INSURANCE DIVISION
ONE SOUTH CALVERT STREET BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

MY DIRECT NUMBER IS 301 659. 4065

RICHARD J. BROOKS
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

May 15, 1981

Mr. James R. Tyler
35 Applewood Road
Bloomfield, CT 06002

Dear Mr. Tyler:

Let me, first, wish you success with your probe into the assimilation of blacks into the insurance industry. It is a difficult undertaking and I have no doubt you will be served stonewalls by certain elements of the industry, stonewalls liberally garnished with obfuscation.

Unfortunately I can offer little but those best wishes. We have no studies to send you--in fact, we don't even have a research unit for such chores. The closest we come to such a survey is with our investigations of "redlining", a nefarious practice indulged in by some insurance companies. Often "redlining" involves areas of inner cities which are isolated from sales' attempts because of the high risk, or loss potential, to insurance companies. The majority of "redlined" areas are inhabited by blacks. One indication of possible "redlining" activity is the absence of black agents in the area, or surrounding area.

Our attempts to prevent and prosecute such activities is on an individual company basis, and can be triggered primarily by complaints from the public, a tactic not often employed by the very citizens victimized. Our efforts are intended toward making insurance available to all citizens, not necessarily toward a sociological solution, nor toward influencing the hiring practices of the insurance industry.

One of the problems you will no doubt encounter is the scatter shot approach to regulation of insurance. It, insurance, is the one remaining large industry regulated solely by the states, not the Federal Government. Good, or bad, that is the way it is. Ergo, there are no comprehensive studies made as there are of so many federally regulated industries.

I would suggest you contact the National Association of Insurance Commissioners (NAIC) and ask for any studies it has made pertaining to your project.

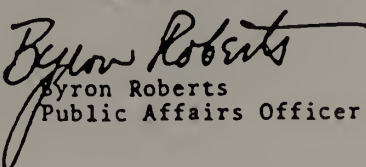
Mr. James R. Tyler
Page 2
May 15, 1981

And, if I have sounded somewhat negative about the insurance industry, let me say there are many, many decent and sincere people connected with the industry and you will meet many of them.

Again, the best of luck to you, and if I can be of any further assistance, please contact me.

Very truly yours;

Edward J. Birrane, Jr.
Insurance Commissioner

By: 
Byron Roberts
Public Affairs Officer

EJB:BR:eab

APPENDIX E

II. Company Contributions

During 1979, some \$51 million was contributed to a wide variety of causes by the 204 companies reporting on this area of social responsibility. While this was by far the largest total in the history of the Social Reporting Program, the increase reflects only the reports of the "trend companies," which have regularly reported their charitable contributions over the past five years.

As Table 8 shows, some rather dramatic changes have occurred in the allocation of the charitable dollar in recent years.

- Contributions to education have doubled and this now constitutes the largest share.
- Contributions to urban/civic affairs and cultural programs have all risen steadily with concomitant increases in their respective shares.
- Contributions for health and safety, in contrast, have shown only modest and irregular increases resulting in decreases in their proportionate shares.
- Similarly, contributions to various federated drives—notably the United Fund—while showing steady dollar increases over the period have not increased proportionately. Five years ago the United Fund claimed about a third of the total; today it receives about one fourth.

This analysis of change in the allocation of the charitable dollar suggests that life and health insurance companies may be coming to be more discriminating in their contributions policies and somewhat less willing to turn the decision over to "professional" allocators in various federated or United Fund drives. As one company report put it:

"Our feelings about company contributions are to know the people involved and to be a part of what they are doing, rather than just sending out a check."

(This tendency is somewhat more pronounced among mutual companies than among stock companies, but that could be a factor of size rather than company type. See Table 10.)

If such a trend persists into the future, it will serve to further document the proposition that company personnel who manage corporate giving and other social programs are being increasingly recognized

for their role in the management team and that they deal with central rather than peripheral issues. One company wrote:

"Our great concern was that we make the best use of the resources devoted to corporate contributions . . . we felt a need to apply to our corporate contributions the same creative management processes that we believe characterize our company's other activities."

Tables 9 and 10 provide details of the 1979 total contributions arranged by company size and region. Save for the great variety in the types of contributions which is suggested by the descriptive categories, the data hold no surprises. The largest companies contribute the largest amounts. And since the large companies are concentrated in the Northeast, it is not surprising that better than half of the total contributions come from that region of the country.

Two changes in the pattern of corporate giving call for special comment. In the first place, the companies appear to be increasingly innovative in their giving. As noted above, they are inclined to take chances on the success of local projects in which they have some involvement. Contributions officers appear to be increasingly willing to bet on the underdog. Self-help projects of all kinds are increasingly attractive. One company president wrote:

"In the past we have tended to be 'reactive' in making corporate contributions. We now intend . . . to be more 'proactive' in our giving—to actively seek out and initiate constructive opportunities for giving . . ."

In the second place, and not unrelated to the first, there is a growing interest in the corporate foundation as a vehicle for administering company charitable contributions programs. The May 1980 issue of *Response*, the Clearinghouse bimonthly, outlined the history of charitable foundations and detailed some of the advantages, several of which are relevant to this Social Report:

- It has the potential to influence the quality of contributions programs by involving public participation;
- It enables the company to set aside funds for future needs;
- It provides some tax benefits which, in turn, may enable the company to make larger contributions;
- It can be used in connection with investment programs, especially those designed to benefit minorities.

These two developments in the theory and practice of corporate giving will be closely monitored in the future by the Clearinghouse.

Table 8**Annual Contributions (in millions): Trend Companies**

Categories*	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Urban/Civic Affairs	\$ 3.4	\$ 3.6	\$ 4.3	\$ 5.3	\$ 6.8
United Fund	7.7	8.2	8.6	9.7	10.5
Health and Safety	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.1	4.9
Education	6.2	6.7	8.0	10.2	12.7
Culture	1.5	2.0	2.5	3.2	4.4
Other	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.7	2.1
Total	\$23.9	\$25.8	\$29.0	\$34.2	\$41.4

*See Table 9 for a fuller description of these categories.

**Total Annual Contributions of
The Trend Companies (in millions)**

Amount, in millions

50

40

30

20

10

0

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979

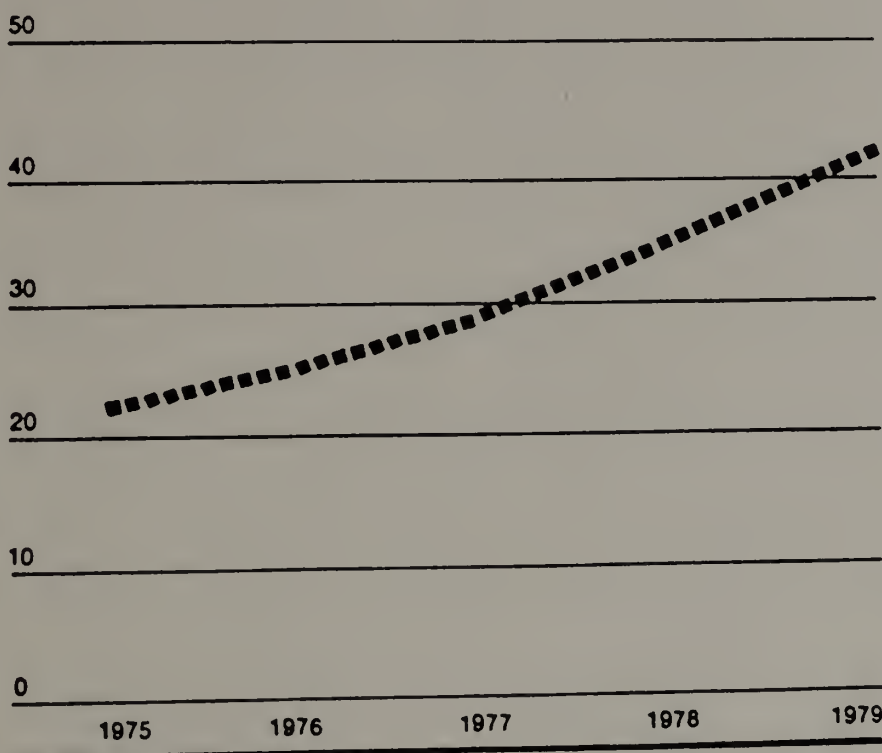


Table 9

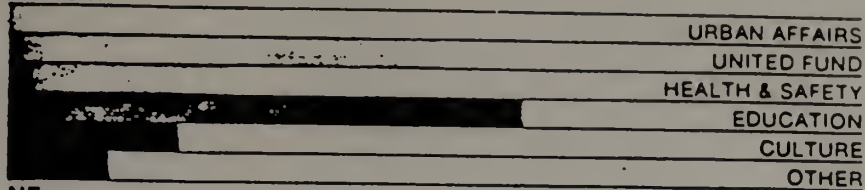
Company Contributions—1979
All Reporting Companies—By Region (000 omitted)

	Total	NE	NC	S	W	Can
Urban/Civic Affairs, including the Urban League, Urban Coalition, community economic development organizations, League of Women Voters, etc.	\$ 8,166	\$ 5,479	\$ 1,780	\$ 544	\$ 268	\$ 95
United Fund and other federated drives.	12,735	6,897	2,903	1,769	584	582
Health and Safety, including education and research, national and local health agencies and grants to hospitals.	6,550	2,817	2,153	611	591	378
Education at all levels, but excluding tuition refund payments to employees.	15,173	8,082	3,836	1,914	889	452
Culture, including the visual and performing arts, libraries, museums, public broadcasting, etc.	5,436	2,768	1,661	501	324	182
Other—including environmental programs, disaster relief, international affairs, economic education, etc.	3,087	1,245	706	306	707	123
Total	\$51,147	\$27,288	\$13,039	\$5,645	\$3,363	\$1,812
Number of companies reporting	(204)	(42)	(89)	(47)	(18)	(8)

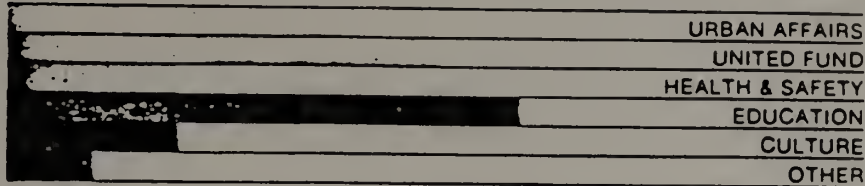
Note: The total 1979 contributions of approximately \$51 million is obviously larger than the contributions of the 128 trend companies in Table 8.

Company Contributions by Category—1979
By Region of Reporting Company

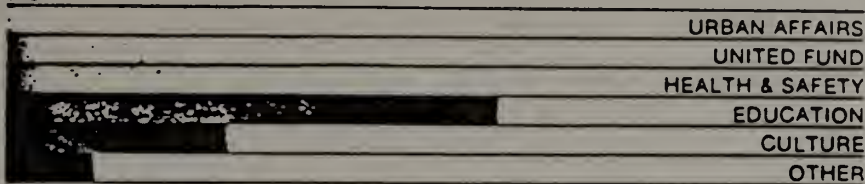
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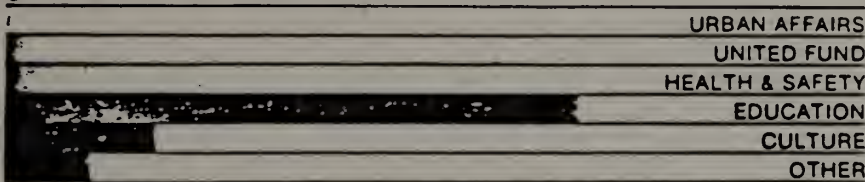
NE



NC



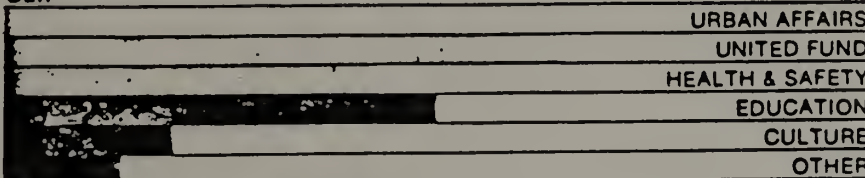
S



W



Can



0 10 20 30 40 50
 Percent of Contributions

Table 10

Company Contributions—1979
All Reporting Companies—By Asset Rank and Company Type (000 omitted)

	Asset Rank				Type	
	1	2	3	4	Mutual	Stock
Urban/Civic including the Urban League, legal defense funds, Urban Coalition, community economic development organizations, League of Women Voters, etc.	\$ 7,140	\$ 695	\$ 289	\$ 42	\$ 3,083	\$ 5,083
United Fund and other federated drives.	10,244	1,860	552	79	6,005	6,730
Health and Safety, including education and research, national and local health agencies and grants to hospitals.	5,648	647	212	43	2,670	3,880
Education at all levels, but excluding tuition refund payments to employees.	12,726	1,825	578	49	6,136	9,037
Culture, including the visual and performing arts, libraries, museums, public broadcasting, etc.	4,622	626	166	22	2,394	3,042
Other—including environmental programs, disaster relief, international affairs, economic education, etc.	1,993	814	239	41	1,131	1,956
Total	\$42,373	\$6,467	\$2,031	\$276	\$21,419	\$29,728
Number of companies reporting	(60)	(48)	(65)	(31)	(72)	(133)

III. Equal Employment Opportunity

"We are committed to affirmative action but . . ."

"Our effort is to bring members of minority groups into the economic mainstream."

"Women have always been the backbone of our labor force . . . the problem now is upgrading."

"We are only just beginning to learn how to plan social change . . ."

These excerpts, adapted from the social reports submitted by the companies, suggest both the challenge and the problems inherent in affirmative action programs. Change has been hard to bring about, and the record of progress is a meager one.

Table 11 tells the bare bones story. Over the past five years, the "trend companies" have tended to employ slightly higher proportions of women and minorities—but the increases have been small. This company's statement is not atypical:

"Making equal opportunity a reality in the workplace is a challenge: in addition to assuring career growth opportunities for women and minorities, it involves getting people to recognize deeply ingrained attitudes and to change behavior patterns. This applies both to those who feel discriminated against and to the perceived discriminators."

At year-end 1979, the reporting companies employed better than 274,000 women and about 78,000 members of minority groups. The employment record of women in 1979 is detailed in Tables 12 and 13.

- At year-end, women comprised 57 percent of the work force of the reporting companies with approximately two-thirds of these women in office and clerical positions.
- During the year, women comprised about the same proportion (59 percent) of all personnel hired, but of these approximately 80 percent were hired into office and clerical positions.
- During 1979, Western and Canadian companies appear to have been somewhat more aggressive in providing opportunities to women.

- The largest companies reported hiring somewhat more women but at year-end the proportion of women in the work force of companies arranged by asset size remained about even.

Despite the fact that the companies do not appear to be hiring many women directly into higher-level entry jobs, it may be that the status of women is improving via upward mobility. During 1979, over 75,000 women were promoted, and in 12 percent of the cases the promotions were to supervisory, professional or management positions (see Table 16). This situation, of course, cannot be projected into the future.

There can be no question, however, that new employment opportunities for women have been opened up during the recent past. The real problem now is one of momentum. The report of one company speaks for many:

"One of the biggest dangers to an equal opportunity program (for women) is that a feeling of complacency can set in once your initial goals have been met. In some cases we've satisfied our initial objectives in regard to moving women into all levels of management, but we've got to keep in mind that those goals were only a starting point. We now need to push beyond that to create a totally equitable work environment."

Nor is the 1979 record for minority employees very different (see Tables 14, 15):

- At year-end members of minority groups comprised 16 percent of the total work force of the reporting companies and of these approximately 54 percent were in office and clerical positions.
- Of all new personnel hired during the year, 20 percent were members of minority groups and 63 percent were assigned to office and clerical positions.
- Opportunities for minority workers during 1979 appear to have been slightly less favorable in the smallest companies; otherwise, size of company makes little difference.
- Western companies have been particularly active in providing employment opportunities for minority workers. And in view of the ethnic composition of the Canadian population, it is not surprising that very few minority workers have been employed by Canadian companies.
- Relative to women, minority group workers do somewhat better in being assigned to higher-level entry jobs, and also in their promotion rate. As Table 16 shows, 14 percent of all minority promotions were to supervisory, professional or management positions.

The following report from one company replicates the experience of many:

"On the minority side we still have a lot of work to do to meet our initial goals. There aren't enough minorities in management positions yet, and there aren't enough role models here for minorities. It's a very slow process, and it can be frustrating at times."

In addition to what have now come to be recognized as "traditional" affirmative action programs for women and minorities, the 1979 equal opportunity reports to the Clearinghouse contain a number of relatively new developments which are of more than passing interest since they may contain clues to the future.

- Several programs for handicapped persons were reported for the deaf, the physically immobile, and those with impaired vision . . . "It is our desire to provide an employment environment in which all employees can achieve their highest potential . . .".
- In the interest of upgrading women and minorities, several companies reported experimental programs in training and career development. Such programs promise to become part of regular personnel practice.
- A number of companies have promulgated policies to prohibit "verbal or sexual harrassment of employees", particularly women. As one company put it, we are determined "to reinforce our commitment to the integrity of and respect for the employee as an individual."

There are many such straws in the wind.

Table 11

**Year-End Percentage of Women and Minority Group Members
Employed: Trend Companies**

	1975 %	1976 %	1977 %	1978 %	1979 %
Women	51	51	53	54	56
Minority Group Members	15	15	16	16	17

Table 12

Women Hired—1979

All Reporting Companies—By Asset Rank and Region

	By Asset Rank				
	Total	1	2	3	4
Number of Women Hired:					
Officials & Managers	623	473	93	50	7
Professionals	3,688	2,890	581	198	19
Technicians	3,359	2,755	331	256	17
Sales Workers*	5,415	4,387	636	383	9
Office & Clerical	60,013	47,607	7,324	4,488	594
Laborers & Service Workers	1,069	694	129	243	3
Total	74,167	58,806	9,094	5,618	649
Percentage this represents of all 1979 hired	59%	60%	60%	55%	53%
Number of companies reporting	(191)	(55)	(41)	(65)	(30)
	By Region				
	NE	NC	S	W	Can
Number of Women Hired:					
Officials & Managers	253	252	47	46	25
Professionals	1,629	1,192	163	704	—
Technicians	2,378	535	166	267	13
Sales Workers*	2,593	1,437	1,347	25	13
Office & Clerical	31,712	17,576	5,096	4,252	1,377
Laborers & Service Workers	494	321	85	167	2
Total	39,059	21,313	6,904	5,461	1,430
Percentage this represents of all 1979 hired	58%	63%	49%	75%	75%
Number of companies reporting	(43)	(82)	(44)	(16)	(16)

*Sales figures for Tables 12 through 15 are understated since most companies do not define sales agents as employees

Table 13

Employment of Women—Year-End 1979
All Reporting Companies—By Asset Rank and Region

	By Asset Rank				
	Total	1	2	3	4
Officials & Managers	14,351	10,776	2,355	1,057	163
Professionals	29,858	24,913	3,783	1,062	100
Technicians	31,781	28,823	2,109	749	80
Sales Workers	10,049	8,519	1,160	339	31
Office & Clerical	186,130	149,643	22,974	12,026	1,487
Laborers & Service Workers	2,804	2,046	419	331	8
Total	274,953	224,720	32,800	15,564	1,869
Percentage this represents of all employees	57%	57%	59%	60%	56%

	By Region				
	NE	NC	S	W	Can
Officials & Managers	7,108	4,699	1,095	1,111	338
Professionals	16,541	9,871	905	2,534	7
Technicians	25,982	3,347	743	1,665	24
Sales Workers	6,364	2,037	1,470	61	117
Office & Clerical	109,616	46,934	14,692	9,898	4,990
Laborers & Service Workers	1,544	816	380	48	16
Total	167,155	67,704	19,285	15,317	5,492
Percentage this represents of all employees	58%	56%	49%	63%	63%

Women Employed by Job Categories
Year-End 1979

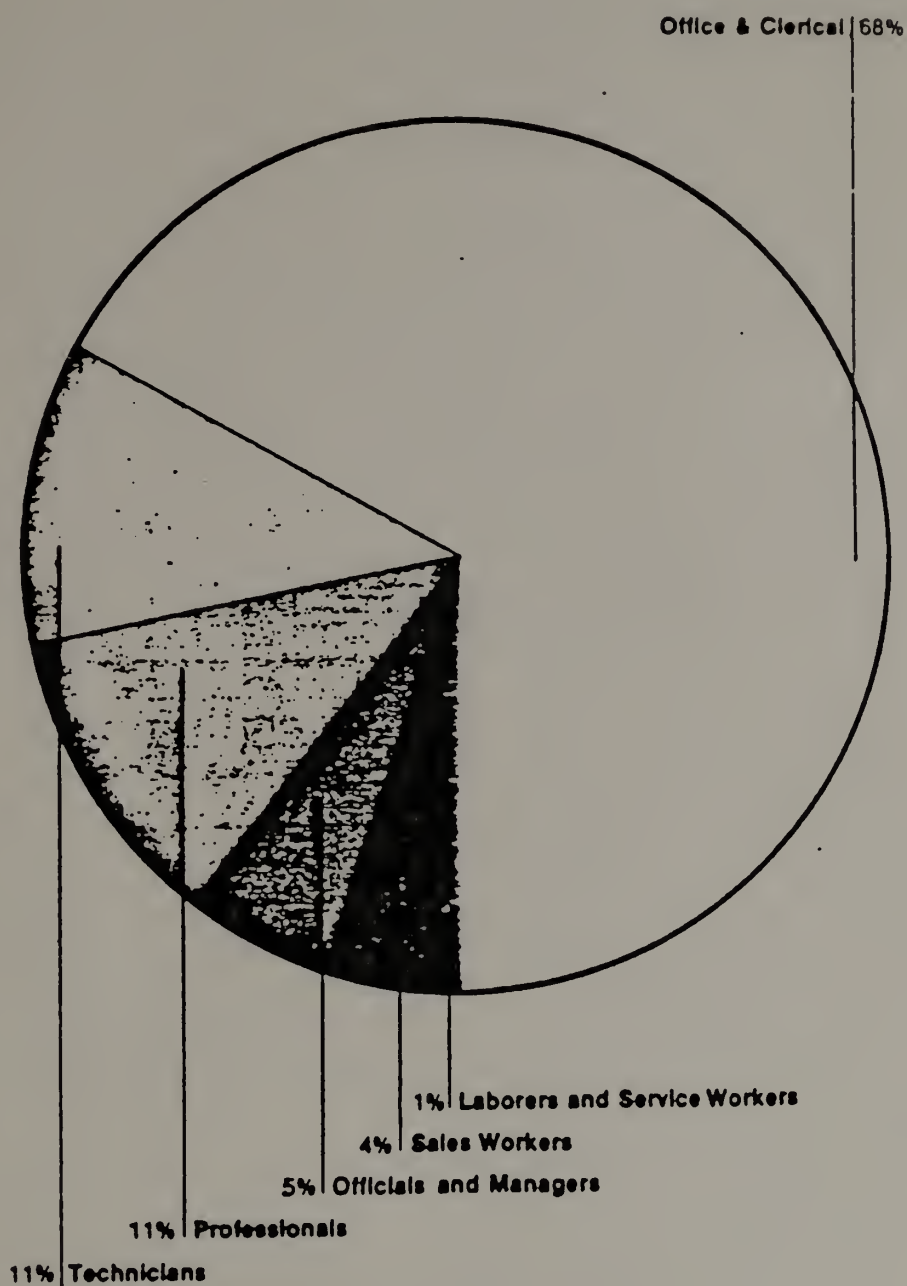


Table 14

Members of Minority Groups Hired—1979
All Reporting Companies—By Asset Rank and Region

	By Asset Rank				
	Total	1	2	3	4
Number of Minority Group Members Hired:					
Officials & Managers	371	316	32	21	2
Professionals	1,724	1,509	147	63	5
Technicians	1,273	1,004	143	121	5
Sales Workers	4,373	3,722	364	263	24
Office & Clerical	16,248	12,876	1,903	1,344	125
Laborers & Service Workers	1,013	598	164	245	6
Total	25,002	20,025	2,753	2,057	167
Percentage this represents of all 1979 hired	20%	20%	18%	20%	14%
Number of companies reporting	(191)	(55)	(41)	(65)	(30)
	By Region				
	NE	NC	S	W	Can
Number of Minority Group Members Hired:					
Officials & Managers	121	193	17	36	4
Professionals	589	616	35	484	—
Technicians	754	206	91	212	10
Sales Workers	2,251	923	1,089	82	28
Office & Clerical	9,001	3,773	1,530	1,879	65
Laborers & Service Workers	276	288	232	212	5
Total	12,992	5,999	2,994	2,905	112
Percentage this represents of all 1979 hired	19%	18%	21%	40%	6%
Number of companies reporting	(43)	(82)	(44)	(16)	(6)

Table 15

Employment of Members of Minority Groups—Year-End 1979
All Reporting Companies—By Asset Rank and Region

	By Asset Rank				
	Total	1	2	3	4
Officials & Managers	4,589	3,570	572	425	22
Professionals	8,610	7,655	725	213	17
Technicians	8,837	7,893	667	267	10
Sales Workers	10,145	9,088	364	638	55
Office & Clerical	43,566	34,718	5,930	2,704	214
Laborers & Service Workers	2,667	2,008	451	194	14
Total	78,414	64,932	8,709	4,441	332
Percentage this represents of all employees	16%	16%	16%	17%	10%

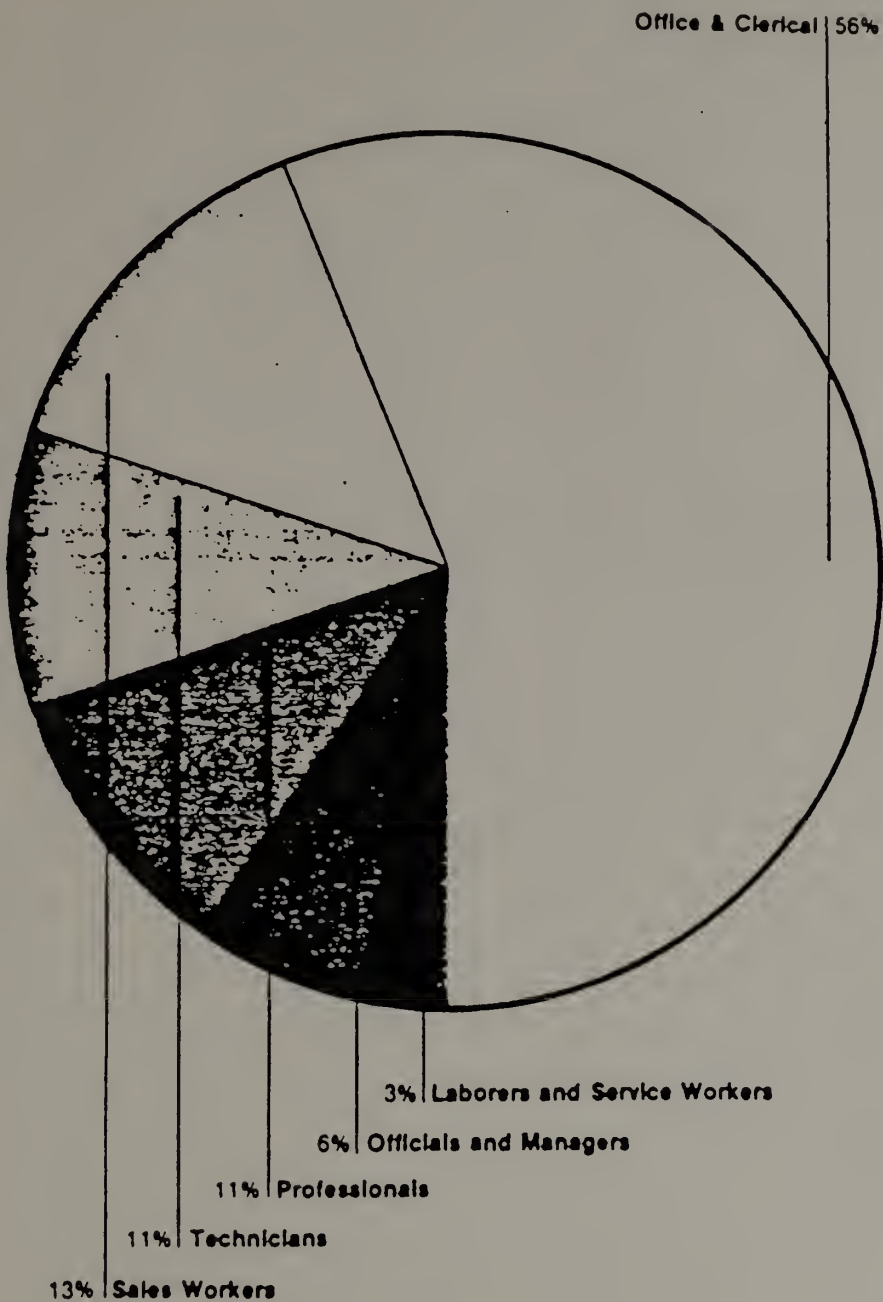
	By Region				
	NE	NC	S	W	Can
Officials & Managers	2,171	1,415	511	416	76
Professionals	4,412	2,897	171	1,127	3
Technicians	6,956	600	324	938	19
Sales Workers	6,156	2,101	1,551	274	63
Office & Clerical	28,515	7,310	3,892	3,566	283
Laborers & Service Workers	1,352	510	694	103	8
Total	49,562	14,833	7,143	6,424	452
Percentage this represents of all employees	17%	12%	18%	27%	5%

Table 16

Promotions of Women and Members of Minority Groups—1979

	Total Promotions	Number promoted to supervisory, professional or management positions
Women	75,451	9,054
Minority Group Members	19,242	2,694

**Employment of Members of Minority Groups
by Job Categories — Year-End 1979**



APPENDIX F

INSURANCE CARRIERS (SIC 63)

Job Category	Year	Total	Blacks	Percent	Hispanics	Percent	Women	Percent
Officials/Managers	1978	128,008	4,711	3.7	1,613	1.3	27,895	21.8
	1975	117,096	3,318	2.8	1,128	1.0	20,245	17.3
	1972	95,443	2,072	2.2	735	.8	13,798	14.4
Professionals	1978	136,780	7,665	5.6	2,283	1.7	49,942	36.5
	1975	115,108	4,677	4.1	1,459	1.3	32,225	28.0
	1972	99,079	2,376	2.4	908	.9	21,284	21.5
Technicians	1978	92,015	9,854	10.7	2,916	3.2	58,461	63.5
	1975	70,243	5,838	8.3	1,616	2.3	37,560	53.5
	1972	48,079	2,628	5.5	892	1.9	20,545	42.7
Sales Workers	1978	119,106	9,134	7.7	2,914	2.4	15,327	12.9
	1975	107,242	7,430	6.9	2,296	2.1	7,569	7.1
	1972	111,476	6,630	5.9	2,171	1.9	5,721	5.1
Office/Clerical	1978	421,833	60,299	14.3	17,621	4.2	389,873	92.4
	1975	406,366	52,636	13.0	15,237	3.7	374,759	92.2
	1972	391,487	40,154	10.3	13,026	3.3	354,112	90.4
Craft Workers	1978	5,883	579	9.8	208	3.5	2,233	38.0
	1975	7,953	935	11.8	272	3.4	4,334	54.5
	1972	4,838	340	7.0	143	3.0	1,251	26.0
Operatives	1978	4,616	720	15.6	384	8.3	1,448	31.4
	1975	4,274	580	13.6	277	6.5	1,395	32.6
	1972	3,055	445	14.6	248	8.1	701	23.0
Laborers	1978	1,083	148	13.7	43	4.0	286	26.4
	1975	1,241	232	18.7	48	3.9	411	33.1
	1972	1,162	245	21.1	402	34.6	459	40.0
Service Workers	1978	12,882	3,519	27.3	798	6.2	5,881	45.7
	1975	13,205	3,823	29.0	1,053	8.0	6,128	46.4
	1972	16,878	4,191	24.8	1,313	7.8	8,217	49.0
Total	1978	922,206	96,629	10.5	28,780	3.1	551,346	59.8
	1975	842,728	79,469	9.4	23,386	2.8	484,618	57.5
	1972	771,497	59,081	7.7	19,838	2.6	426,088	55.2

Source: BLS

TABLE 2
1981 EEO-1 SUMMARIES

	Officials & Managers	Professionals	Technicians	Sales Workers	Office & Clerical	Blue Collar	Service Workers	Total
LIFE INSURANCE								
(SIC 631)								
All	60,851	44,150	40,992	80,818	175,667	5,435	6,814	414,727
Black	2,675	2,954	5,102	6,175	29,272	852	2,259	49,889
X Black	4.4	6.7	12.4	8.4	16.7	15.7	33.2	12.0
MEDICAL SERVICES AND HEALTH INSURANCE								
(SIC 632)								
All	18,342	28,968	19,394	12,488	75,573	1,395	1,366	152,765
Black	1,312	2,423	3,453	1,744	16,478	236	468	26,114
X Black	7.2	8.4	17.8	14.0	21.8	16.9	34.3	17.1
FIRE, MARINE & CASUALTY INS.								
(SIC 633)								
All	54,398	71,100	28,268	12,744	171,223	4,857	2,847	345,437
Black	1,687	3,880	2,386	1,017	22,052	677	606	32,305
X Black	3.1	5.5	8.4	8.0	12.9	13.9	13.7	9.4
SURETY INSURANCE								
(SIC 635)								
All	1,101	847	309	390	3,191	63	171	6,072
Black	10	12	10	4	188	5	23	252
X Black	1.0	1.4	3.2	1.0	5.9	7.9	13.5	4.2
TITLE INSURANCE								
(SIC 636)								
All	4,515	3,361	4,081	2,303	11,853	1,011	395	27,516
Black	107	122	383	58	1,055	125	71	1,921
X Black	2.4	3.6	9.4	2.5	8.9	12.4	17.8	7.0
ALL INSURANCE COS.								
(SIC 63)								
All	141,423	150,449	94,615	109,591	442,354	12,986	11,745	963,163
Black	5,875	9,488	11,466	9,615	69,962	1,950	3,499	111,855
X Black	4.2	6.3	12.1	8.8	15.8	15.0	29.8	11.6

SOURCE: 1979 Annual EEO-1 Summaries compiled by Statistical Department, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D.C.

TABLE 1

EEO-1 REPORT SUMMARIES
SIC-63 Insurance Carriers

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1966</u>
ALL EMPLOYEES							
Officials & Managers	141,423	135,082	130,676	128,008	117,096	84,688	86,550
Professionals	150,449	144,808	133,534	136,780	115,108	82,397	69,303
Technicians	94,615	101,064	96,731	92,015	70,243	43,158	30,893
Sales	109,591	108,629	117,083	119,106	107,242	107,364	175,771
Office & Clerical	442,354	416,609	423,309	421,833	406,366	371,012	358,992
Blue Collar	12,986	13,030	12,572	11,582	13,468	12,211	6,788
Service	11,745	11,551	11,494	12,882	11,205	16,013	13,035
TOTAL	963,163	930,773	925,399	922,206	842,728	716,843	742,332
BLACK EMPLOYEES							
Officials & Managers	5,875	5,534	4,772	4,711	3,318	1,637	1,332
Professionals	9,488	9,866	7,595	7,665	4,677	1,417	334
Technicians	11,466	12,705	11,522	9,854	5,838	2,006	324
Sales	9,615	10,001	9,401	9,134	7,430	6,482	5,377
Office & Clerical	69,962	64,930	63,546	60,299	52,636	36,460	13,359
Blue Collar	1,950	2,103	1,801	1,447	1,747	2,173	644
Service	3,499	3,619	3,617	3,519	3,823	4,389	3,823
TOTAL	111,855	108,758	102,754	96,629	79,469	54,564	25,193
7. BLACK TO ALL							
Officials & Managers	4.2	4.1	3.7	3.7	2.8	2.9	1.5
Professionals	6.3	6.7	5.7	5.6	4.1	1.7	.5
Technical	12.1	12.6	11.9	10.7	8.3	4.6	1.0
Sales	8.8	9.2	8.0	7.7	6.9	6.0	3.1
Office & Clerical	15.8	15.6	15.0	14.3	13.0	9.8	3.7
Blue Collar	15.0	16.1	14.3	12.5	13.0	17.8	9.5
Service	29.8	31.3	31.5	27.3	29.0	27.4	29.3
TOTAL	11.6	11.7	11.0	10.5	9.4	7.6	3.4
UNITS REPORTING	7,105	7,007	6,940	6,943	6,470	5,829	7,480
EMPLOYERS	728	692	701	717	719		

SOURCE: Annual EEO-1 Summaries compiled by Statistical Department, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C.

